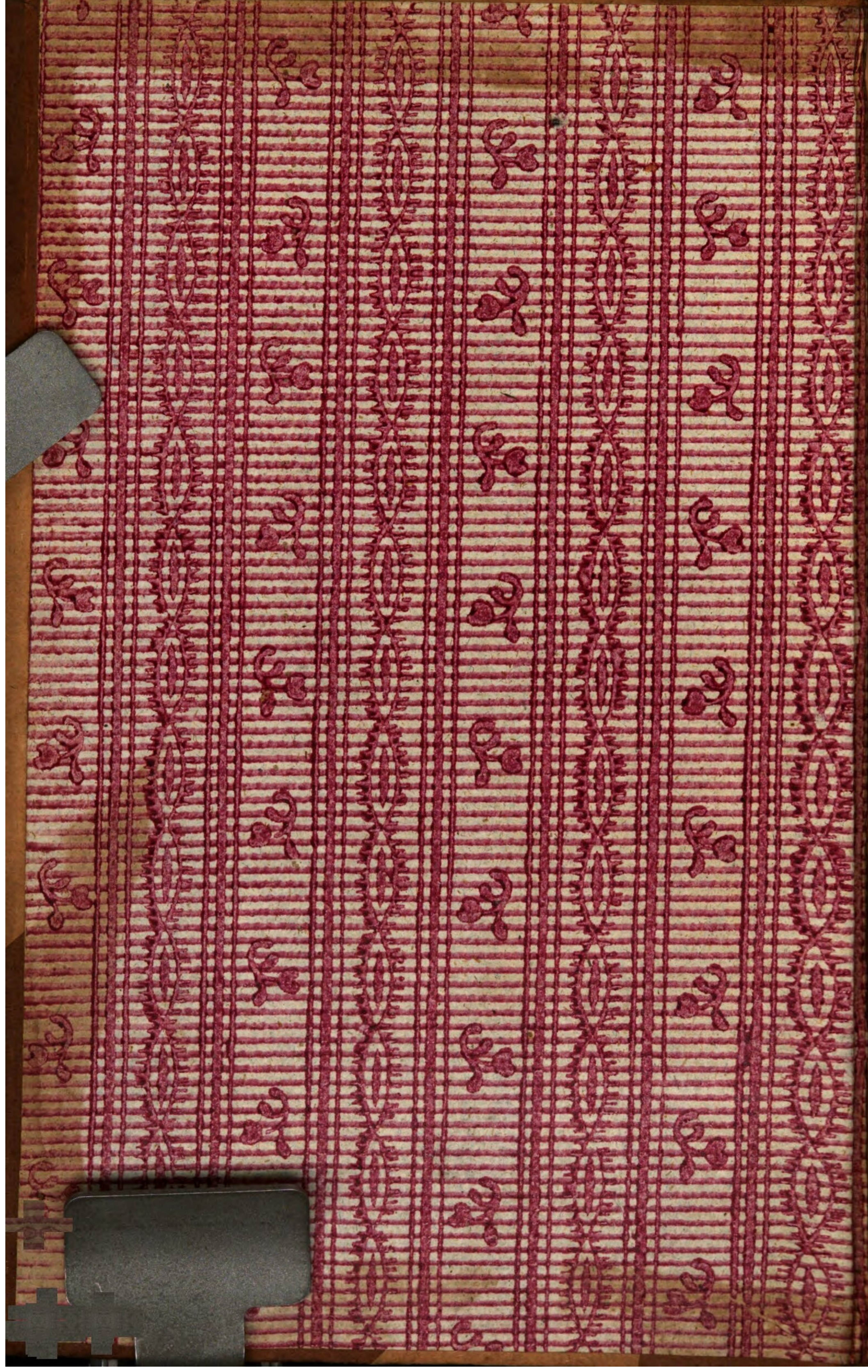




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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE
OF
M. TULLIUS CICERO.

Hunc igitur spectemus. Hoc propositum sit nobis exemplum.

Ille se profecisse sciat, cui CICERO valde placebit.

QUINTIL. Instit. l. x. i.

By CONYERS MIDDLETON, D. D.,
PRINCIPAL LIBRARY-KEEPER OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF CAMBRIDGE.

VOL. II.

A NEW EDITION.

BASIL:

Printed for J. J. TOURNEISEN; and J. L. LEGRAND.

MDCXC.

206/47/836

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LIFE
OF
M. TULLIUS CICERO.

Quintus Tullius Cicero, the noblest of the
Roman orators, and the greatest of the
Roman statesmen.

By CONYER, N. D. D.
PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN
OF THE UNIVERSITY



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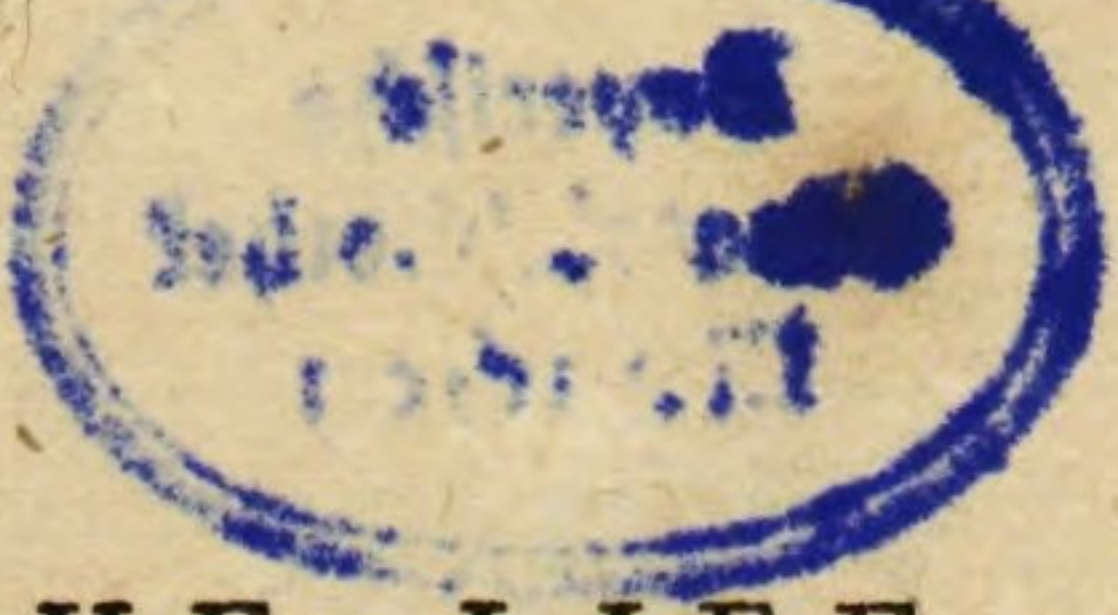


THE
HISTORY
OF
THE LIFE OF
M. TULLIUS CICERO.

SECT. VI.

Cicero's return was, what he himself truly calls it, the beginning of a new life to him^r; which was to be governed by new maxims, and a new kind of policy; yet so as not to forfeit his old character. He had been made to feel in what hands the weight of power lay, and what little dependence was to be placed on the help and support of his Aristocratical friends: Pompey had served him on this important occasion very sincerely, and with the concurrence also of Cæsar; so as to make it a point of gratitude, as well as prudence, to be more observant of them than he had hitherto been: the Senate, on the other hand, with the Magistrates and the honest of all ranks, were zealous in his cause; and the Consul Lentulus above all seemed to make it the sole end and

A. Urb. 696.
Cic. 50.
Coff.
P. CORNELI-
US LENTU-
LUS SPIN-
THER,
Q. CÆCILI-
US METEL-
US NEPOS.



glory of his administration². This uncommon consent of opposite parties in promoting his restoration, drew upon him a variety of obligations, which must needs often clash and interfere with each other; and which it was his part still to manage so, as to make them consistent with his honor, his safety, his private, and his public duty: these were to be the springs and motives of his new life; the hinges on which his future conduct was to turn; and to do justice severally to them all, and assign to each its proper weight and measure of influence, required his utmost skill and address³.

The day after his arrival, on the fifth of September, the Consuls summoned the Senate, to give him an opportunity of paying his thanks to them in public for their late services; where, after a general profession of his obligations to them all, he made his particular acknowledgments to each Magistrate by name, to the Consuls; the Tribunes; the Prætors: he addressed himself to the Tribunes, before the Prætors; not for the dignity of their office, for in that they were inferior, but for their greater authority in making laws; and consequently, their greater merit in carrying his law into effect. The number of his private friends was too great to make it possible for him to enumerate or thank them all; so that he confined himself to the Magistrates, with exception only to Pompey⁴, whom for the eminence of his character, though at present only a private man, he took care to distinguish by a personal address

and compliment. But as Lentulus was the first in office, and had served him with the greatest affection, so he gives him the first share of his praise; and in the overflowing of his gratitude styles him, the Parent and the God of his life and fortunes'. The next day he paid his thanks likewise to the people, in a speech from the Rostra; where he dwelt chiefly on the same topics which he had used in the Senate, celebrating the particular merits and services of his principal friends, especially of Pompey; whom he declares to be the greatest man for virtue, wisdom, glory, who was then living, or had lived, or ever would live; and that he owed more to him on this occasion, than it was even lawful almost, for one man to owe to another'.

Both these speeches are still extant, and a passage or two from each will illustrate the temper and disposition in which he returned: in speaking to the Senate, after a particular recital of the services of his friends, he adds, "as I have a pleasure in enumerating these, so I willingly pass over in silence what others wickedly acted against me: it is not my present business to remember injuries; which if it were in my power to revenge, I should chuse to forget; my life shall be applied to other purposes: to repay the good offices of those who have deserved it of me; to hold fast the friendships which have been tried as it were in the fire; to wage war with declared enemies; to pardon my timorous, nor yet expose my treacherous friends;

“ and to balance the misery of my exile by the
“ dignity of my return’.— ” To the people
he observes; “ that there were four sorts of ene-
“ mies, who concurred to oppress him: the first,
“ who, out of hatred to the Republic, were
“ mortal enemies to him for having saved it:
“ the second, who, under a false pretence of
“ friendship, infamously betrayed him: the third,
“ who, through their inability to obtain what
“ he had acquired, were envious of his dignity:
“ the fourth, who, though by office they ought
“ to have been the guardians of the Republic,
“ bartered away his safety, the peace of the
“ City, and the dignity of the Empire, which
“ were committed to their trust. I will take my
“ revenge,” says he, “ on each of them, agreeably
“ to the different manner of their provocation;
“ on the bad Citizens, by defending the Republic
“ strenuously; on my perfidious friends, by never
“ trusting them again; on the envious, by conti-
“ nuing my steady pursuit of virtue and glory;
“ on those Merchants of Provinces, by calling
“ them home to give an account of their adminis-
“ tration: but I am more solicitous how to acquit
“ myself of my obligations to you, for your
“ great services, than to resent the injuries and
“ cruelties of my enemies: for it is much easier
“ to revenge an injury than to repay a kindness,
“ and much less trouble to get the better of bad
“ men than to equal the good.”

This affair being happily over, the Senate had
leisure again to attend to public business; and

there was now a case before them of a very urgent nature, which required a present remedy; an unusual scarcity of corn and provisions in the City, which had been greatly increased by the late concourse of people from all parts of Italy, on Cicero's account, and was now felt very severely by the poor Citizens: They had born it with much patience while Cicero's return was in agitation; comforting themselves with a notion, that if he was once restored, plenty would be restored with him; but finding the one at last effected without the other, they began to grow clamorous, and unable to endure their hunger any longer.

Clodius could not let slip so fair an opportunity of exciting some new disturbance, and creating fresh trouble to Cicero, by charging the calamity to his score: for this end he employed a number of young fellows to run all night about the streets, making a lamentable outcry for bread; and calling upon Cicero to relieve them from the famine to which he had reduced them; as if he had got some hidden store or magazine of corn, secreted from common use'. He sent his mob also to the Theatre, in which the Prætor Cæcilius, Cicero's particular friend, was exhibiting the Apollinarian shows, where they raised such a terror that they drove the whole company out of it: then, in the same tumultuous manner, they marched to the Temple of Concord, whither Metellus had summoned the Senate; but happening to meet with Metellus in the way, they presently attacked

him with volleys of stones; with some of which they wounded even the Consul himself, who, for the greater security, immediately adjourned the Senate into the Capitol. They were led on by two desperate Ruffians, their usual Commanders, M. Lollius and M. Sergius, the first of whom had in Clodius's Tribunate undertaken the task of killing Pompey; the second had been Captain of the Guard to Catiline, and was probably of his family^{1°}: but Clodius, encouraged by this hopeful beginning, put himself at their head in person, and pursued the Senate into the Capitol, in order to disturb their debates, and prevent their providing any relief for the present evil; and above all, to excite the meaner sort to some violence against Cicero. But he soon found, to his great disappointment, that Cicero was too strong in the affections of the City to be hurt again so soon: for the people themselves saw through his design, and were so provoked at it, that they turned universally against him, and drove him out of the field, with all his mercenaries; when perceiving that Cicero was not present in the Senate, they called out upon him by name with one voice, and would not be quieted till he came in person to undertake their cause, and propose some expedient for their relief. He had kept his house all that day, and resolved to do so, till he saw the issue of the tumult; but when he understood that Clodius was repulsed, and that his presence was universally required by the Consuls, the Senate, and the whole People, he came to the Senate-

House, in the midst of their debates, and being presently asked his opinion, proposed, that Pompey should be entreated to undertake the province of restoring plenty to the City; and, to enable him to execute it with effect, should be invested with an absolute power over all the public stores and corn-rents of the Empire through all the Provinces: the motion was readily accepted, and a vote immediately passed, that a law should be prepared for that purpose, and offered to the people¹¹. All the Consular Senators were absent except Messala and Afranius: they pretended to be afraid of the mob; but the real cause was their unwillingness to concur in granting this commission to Pompey. The Consuls carried the decree with them into the Rostra, and read it publicly to the people; who on the mention of Cicero's name, in which it was drawn, gave an universal shout of applause; upon which, at the desire of all the Magistrates, Cicero made a speech to them, setting forth the reasons and necessity of the decree, and giving them the comfort of a speedy relief, from the vigilance and authority of Pompey¹². The absence however of the Consular Senators gave a handle to reflect upon the act, as not free and valid, but extorted by fear, and without the intervention of the principal members; but the very next day, in a fuller House, when all those Senators were present, and a motion was made to revoke the decree, it was unanimously rejected¹³; and the Consuls were ordered to draw up a law conformable to it, by which the whole

administration of the corn and provisions of the Republic was to be granted to Pompey for five years, with a power of chusing fifteen Lieutenants to assist him in it.

This furnished Clodius with fresh matter of abuse upon Cicero: he charged him with ingratitude, and the desertion of the Senate, which had always been firm to him, in order to pay his court to a man, who had betrayed him: and that he was so silly, as not to know his own strength and credit in the City, and how able he was to maintain his authority without the help of Pompey¹⁴. But Cicero defended himself by saying, “ that they must not expect to play the same game
“ upon him now that he was restored, with which
“ they had ruined him before, by raising jealous-
“ lies between him and Pompey; that he had
“ smarted for it too severely already, to be caught
“ again in the same trap; that in decreeing this
“ commission to Pompey, he had discharged both
“ his private obligations to a friend, and his
“ public duty to the State; that those who grud-
“ ged all extraordinary power to Pompey, must
“ grudge the victories, the triumphs, the acces-
“ sion of dominion and revenue, which their for-
“ mer grants of this sort had procured to the
“ Empire; that the success of those showed,
“ what fruit they were to expect from this¹⁵.”

But what authority soever this law conferred on Pompey, his creatures were not yet satisfied with it; so that Messius, one of the Tribunes, proposed, another, to give him the additional

power of raising what money, fleets, and armies he thought fit; with a greater command through all the Provinces, than their proper Governors had in each. Cicero's laws seemed modest in comparison of Messius's: Pompey pretended to be content with the first, whilst all his dependents were pushing for the last; they expected that Cicero would come over to them; but he continued silent, nor would stir a step farther; for his affairs were still in such a state, as obliged him to act with caution, and to manage both the Senate and the men of power: the conclusion was, that Cicero's law was received by all parties, and Pompey named him for his first Lieutenant, declaring that he should consider him as a second self, and act nothing without his advice¹⁶. Cicero accepted the employment, on condition that he might be at liberty to use or resign it at pleasure, as he found it convenient to his affairs¹⁷: but he soon after quitted it to his Brother, and chose to continue in the city; where he had the pleasure to see the end of his law effectually answered: for the credit of Pompey's name immediately reduced the price of victuals in the markets; and his vigor and diligence in prosecuting the affair soon established a general plenty.

Cicero was restored to his former dignity, but not to his former fortunes; nor was any satisfaction yet made to him for the ruin of his houses and estates: a full restitution indeed had been decreed, but was reserved to his return; which came now before the Senate to be considered and settled by public authority, where it met still with

great obstruction. The chief difficulty was about his Palatine house ; which he valued above all the rest, and which Clodius, for that reason, had contrived to alienate, as he hoped, irretrievably ; by demolishing the Fabric, and dedicating a Temple upon the area to the Goddess Liberty : where, to make his work the more complete, he pulled down also the adjoining portico of Catulus, that he might build it up anew, of the same order with his Temple ; and by blending the public with private property, and consecrating the whole to religion, might make it impossible to separate or restore any part to Cicero ; since a consecration, legally performed, made the thing consecrated unapplicable ever after to any private use.

This portico was built, as has been said, on the spot where Fulvius Flaccus formerly lived, whose house was publicly demolished, for the treason of its master ; and it was Clodius's design to join Cicero's to it under the same denomination ; as the perpetual memorial of a disgrace and punishment inflicted by the people¹⁸. When he had finished the portico therefore, and annexed his Temple to it, which took up but a small part, scarce a tenth, of Cicero's house, he left the rest of the area void, in order to plant a grove, or walks of pleasure upon it, as had been usual in such cases ; where, as it has been observed, he was prosecuting a particular interest, as well as indulging his malice in obstructing the restitution of it to Cicero.

The affair was to be determined by the college

of Priests, who were the Judges in all cases relating to religion : for the Senate could only make a provisional decree, that if the Priests discharged the ground from the service of religion, then the Consuls should take an estimate of the damage, and make a contract for rebuilding the whole at the public charge, so as to restore it to Cicero in the condition in which he left it¹⁹. The Priests therefore of all orders were called together on the last of September, to hear this cause, which Cicero pleaded in person before them : they were men of the first dignity and families in the republic ; and there never was, as Cicero tells us, so full an appearance of them in any cause, since the foundation of the City : he reckons up nineteen by name ; a great part of whom were of Consular rank²⁰. His first care, before he entered into the merits of the question, was to remove the prejudices, which his enemies had been laboring to instil, on the account of his late conduct in favor of Pompey, by explaining the motives, and showing the necessity of it ; contriving at the same time to turn the odium on the other side, by running over the history of Clodius's Tribunate, and painting all its violences in the most lively colors ; but the question on which the cause singly turned, was about the efficacy of the pretended consecration of the house, and the dedication of the Temple : to show the nullity therefore of this act, he endeavours to overthrow the very foundation of it, “ and prove Clodius's Tribunate to be originally
“ null and void, from the invalidity of his adop-

“ tion, on which it was entirely grounded :” he
shows, “ that the sole end of adoption, which
“ the laws acknowledged, was to supply the
“ want of children, by borrowing them as it
“ were from other families; that it was an essen-
“ tial condition of it, that he who adopted had
“ no children of his own, nor was in condition
“ to have any : that the parties concerned were
“ obliged to appear before the Priests to signify
“ their consent, the cause of the adoption, the
“ circumstances of the families interested in it,
“ and the nature of their religious rites; that the
“ Priests might judge of the whole, and see that
“ there was no fraud or deceit in it, nor any dis-
“ honor to any family or person concerned : that
“ nothing of all this had been observed in the
“ case of Clodius : that the Adopter was not full
“ twenty years old, when he adopted a Senator,
“ who was old enough to be his father : that he
“ had no occasion to adopt, since he had a wife
“ and children, and would probably have more,
“ which he must necessarily disinherit by this
“ adoption, if it was real : that Clodius had no
“ other view, than, by the pretence of an adop-
“ tion, to make himself a Plebeian and Tribune,
“ in order to overturn the state; that the act itself,
“ which confirmed the adoption, was null and
“ illegal, being transacted while Bibulus was ob-
“ serving the Auspices, which was contrary to
“ express law, and huddled over in three hours
“ by Cæsar, when it ought to have been published
“ for three market days successively, at the interval

“ of nine days each ²¹ : that if the adoption was
“ irregular and illegal, as it certainly was, the
“ Tribunate must needs be so too, which was
“ entirely built upon it : but granting the Tribu-
“ nate after all to be valid, because some eminent
“ men would have it so, yet the act made after-
“ wards for his banishment could not possibly be
“ considered as a law, but as a privilege only,
“ made against a particular person ; which the
“ sacred laws, and the laws of the twelve Tables
“ had utterly prohibited : that it was contrary to
“ the very constitution of the Republic, to punish
“ any Citizen either in body or goods, till he had
“ been accused in proper form, and condemned
“ of some crime by competent judges : that Pri-
“ vileges, or laws to inflict penalties on single
“ persons by name, without a legal trial, were
“ cruel and pernicious, and nothing better than
“ proscriptions, and of all things not to be en-
“ dured in their City ²². ” Then in entering upon
the question of his house, he declares, “ that the
“ whole effect of his restoration depended upon it ;
“ that if it was not given back to him, but suf-
“ fered to remain a monument of triumph to his
“ enemy, of grief and calamity to himself, he
“ could not consider it as a restoration, but a
“ perpetual punishment : that his house stood in
“ the view of the whole people ; and if it must
“ continue in its present state, he should be forced
“ to remove to some other place, and could never
“ endure to live in that City, in which he must
“ always see trophies erected both against himself

“ and the Republic : the house of Sp. Melius ,”
says he , “ who affected a Tyranny , was levelled ;
“ and by the name of Æquimelum , given to the
“ place , the people confirmed the Equity of his
“ punishment : the house of Sp. Cassius was over-
“ turned also for the same cause , and a Temple
“ raised upon it to Tellus : M. Vaccus’s house
“ was confiscated and levelled ; and to per-
“ petuate the memory of his treason , the place is
“ still called Vaccus’s meadows : M. Manlius
“ likewise , after he had repulsed the Gauls from
“ the Capitol , not content with the glory of that
“ service , was adjudged to aim at dominion ; so
“ that his house was demolished , where you now
“ see the two groves planted : must I therefore
“ suffer that punishment , which our Ancestors
“ inflicted as the greatest , on wicked and traitor-
“ ous Citizens ; that posterity may consider me ,
“ not as the oppressor , but the author and captain
“ of the Conspiracy ” ? ” When he comes to
speak to the dedication itself , he observes , “ that
“ the Goddess Liberty , to which the Temple
“ was dedicated , was the known statue of a cele-
“ brated strumpet , which Appius brought from
“ Greece for the ornament of his Ædileship : and
“ upon dropping the thoughts of that magistracy ,
“ gave to his brother Clodius , to be advanced
“ into a deity ” ²⁴ : that the ceremony was performed
“ without any licence or judgment obtained from
“ the College of Priests , by the single ministry
“ of a raw young man , the brother-in-law of
“ Clodius , who had been made Priest but a few

“ days before ; a mere novice in his business , and
“ forced into the service ” : but if all had been
“ transacted regularly , and in due form , that it
“ could not possibly have any force , as being
“ contrary to the standing laws of the Republic :
“ for there was an old Tribunician law , made by
“ Q. Papirius , which prohibited the consecration
“ of houses , lands , or altars , without the express
“ command of the people ; which was not ob-
“ tained , nor even pretended in the present
“ case ” : that great regard had always been paid
“ to this law in several instances of the gravest
“ kind : that Q. Marcius , the Censor , erected a
“ Statue of Concord in a public part of the city ,
“ which C. Cassius afterwards , when Censor , re-
“ moved into the Senate-house , and consulted the
“ College of Priests , whether he might not dedi-
“ cate the statue , and the house also itself , to
“ Concord : upon which M. Æmilius , the High-
“ Priest , gave answer in the name of the College ,
“ that unless the people had deputed him by
“ name , and he acted in it by their authority ,
“ they were of opinion , that he could not rightly
“ dedicate them ” : that Licinia also , a vestal
“ virgin , dedicated an altar , and a little temple ,
“ under the sacred Rock : upon which S. Julius
“ the Prætor , by order of the Senate , consulted
“ the College of Priests ; for whom P. Scævola ,
“ the High-Priest , gave answer , that what Li-
“ cinia had dedicated in a public place , without
“ any order of the people , could not be confi-
“ dered as sacred : so that the Senate enjoined

“ the Prætor to see it defecrated , and to efface
“ whatever had been inscribed upon it : after all
“ this , it was to no purpose , he tells them , to
“ mention , what he had proposed to speak to in
“ the last place , that the dedication was not per-
“ formed with any of the solemn words and rites
“ which such a function required ; but by the
“ ignorant young man before-mentioned , without
“ the help of his Colleagues , his books , or any
“ to prompt him : especially when Clodius , who
“ directed him , that impure enemy of all religion ,
“ who often acted the woman among men , as well
“ as the man among women , huddled over the
“ whole ceremony in a blundering , precipitate
“ manner , faltering and confounded in mind ,
“ voice , and speech ; often recalling himself ,
“ doubting , fearing , hesitating , and performing
“ every thing quite contrary to what the sacred
“ books prescribed : nor is it strange ,” says he ,
“ that in an act so mad and villanous , his audacious-
“ ness could not get the better of his fears : for what
“ Pirate , though ever so barbarous , after he had
“ been plundering Temples , when pricked by
“ a dream , or scruple of religion , he came to con-
“ secrate some altar on a desert shore , was not
“ terrified in his mind , on being forced to appease
“ that Deity by his prayers , whom he had pro-
“ voked by his sacrilege ? In what horrors then ,
“ think you , must this man needs be , the plun-
“ derer of all Temples , houses , and the whole
“ City , when for the expiation of so many im-
“ pieties , he was wickedly consecrating one single
altar

“ altar²⁸? Then after a solemn invocation and appeal to all the Gods, who peculiarly favored and protected that City, to bear witness to the integrity of his zeal and love to the Republic, and that in all his labors and struggles he had constantly preferred the public benefit to his own, he commits the justice of his cause to the judgment of the venerable Bench.”

He was particularly pleased with the composition of this speech, which he published immediately; and says upon it, that if ever he made any figure in speaking, his indignation, and the sense of his injuries, had inspired him with new force and spirit in this cause²⁹. The sentence of the Priests turned wholly on what Cicero had alledged about the force of the Papirian law; viz. that if he, who performed the office of consecration, had not been specially authorized and personally appointed to it by the people, then the area in question might, without any scruple of religion, be restored to Cicero. This though it seemed somewhat evasive, was sufficient for Cicero's purpose; and his friends congratulated him upon it, as upon a clear victory; while Clodius interpreted it still in favor of himself, and being produced into the Rostra, by his Brother Appius, acquainted the people, that the Priests had given judgment for him, but that Cicero was preparing to recover possession by force; and exhorted them therefore to follow him and Appius in the defence of their liberties. But his speech made no impression on the audience; some wondered at his im-

puudence, others laughed at his folly, and Cicero resolved not to trouble himself, or the people about it, till the Consuls, by a decree of the Senate, had contracted for rebuilding the portico of Catulus^{3o}.

The Senate met the next day, in a full house, to put an end to this affair; when Marcellinus, one of the Consuls elect, being called upon to speak first, addressed himself to the Priests, and desired them to give an account of the grounds and meaning of their sentence: upon which Lucullus, in the name of the rest, declared, that the Priests were indeed the Judges of religion, but the Senate of the law; that they therefore had determined only what related to the point of religion, and left it to the Senate to determine whether any obstacle remained in point of law: all the other priests spoke largely after him in favor of Cicero's cause: when Clodius rose afterwards to speak, he endeavoured to waste the time so, as to hinder their coming to any resolution that day; but after he had been speaking for three hours successively, the assembly grew so impatient, and made such a noise and hissing, that he was forced to give over: yet when they were going to pass a decree, in the words of Marcellinus, Serranus put his negative upon it: this raised an universal indignation; and a fresh debate began, at the motion of the Two Consuls, on the merit of the Tribune's intercession; when after many warm speeches, they came to the following vote; that it was the resolution of the Senate, that Cicero's

house should be restored to him, and Catulus's portico rebuilt, as it had been before; and that this vote should be defended by all the Magistrates; and if any violence or obstruction was offered to it, that the Senate would look upon it, as offered by him, who had interposed his negative. This staggered Serranus, and the late Farce was played over again; his father threw himself at his feet, to beg him to desist; he desired a night's time; which at first was refused, but on Cicero's request, granted; and the next day he revoked his negative, and, without farther opposition, suffered the Senate to pass a decree, that Cicero's damage should be made good to him, and his houses rebuilt at the public charge".

The Consuls began presently to put the decree in execution; and having contracted for the rebuilding Catulus's portico, set men to work, upon clearing the ground, and demolishing what had been built by Clodius: but as to Cicero's buildings, it was agreed to take an estimate of his damage, and pay the amount of it to himself, to be laid out according to his own fancy: in which his Palatine house was valued at sixteen thousand pounds; his Tusculan at four thousand; his Formian only at two thousand. This was a very deficient and shameful valuation, which all the world cried out upon; for the Palatine house had cost him, not long before, near twice that sum: but Cicero would not give himself any trouble about it, or make any exceptions, which gave the Consuls a handle to throw the blame upon his own

modesty, for not remonstrating against it, and seeming to be satisfied with what was awarded; but the true reason was, as he himself declares, that those, who had clipt his wings, had no mind to let them grow again; and though they had been his advocates when absent, began now to be secretly angry, and openly envious of him when present¹².

But as he was never covetous, this affair gave him no great uneasiness; though, through the late ruin of his fortunes, he was now in such want of money, that he resolved to expose his Tusculan Villa to sale; but soon changed his mind and built it up again with much more magnificence than before; and for the beauty of its situation, and neighbourhood to the City, took more pleasure in it ever after, than in any other of his country-seats. But he had some domestic grievances about this time, which touched him more nearly; and which, as he signifies obscurely to Atticus, were of too delicate a nature to be explained by a letter¹³: they arose chiefly from the petulant humor of his wife, which began to give him frequent occasions of chagrin; and, by a series of repeated provocations, confirmed in him that settled disgust, which ended at last in a divorce.

As he was now restored to the possession both of his dignity and fortune, so he was desirous to destroy all the public monuments of his late disgrace; nor to suffer the law of his exile to remain, with the other acts of Clodius's Tribunate, hang-

ing up in the Capitol, engraved, as usual, on tables of brass: watching therefore the opportunity of Clodius's absence, he went to the Capitol, with a strong body of his friends, and taking the tables down conveyed them to his own house. This occasioned a sharp contest in the Senate between him and Clodius, about the validity of those acts; and drew Cato also into the debate; who, for the sake of his Cyprian commission, thought himself obliged to defend their legality against Cicero; which created some little coldness between them, and gave no small pleasure to the common enemies of them both³⁴.

But Cicero's chief concern at present was, how to support his former authority in the City, and provide for his future safety; as well against the malice of declared enemies, as the envy of pretended friends, which he perceived to be growing up afresh against him: he had thoughts of putting in for the Censorship; or of procuring one of those honorary Lieutenancies, which gave a public character to private Senators; with intent to make a progress through Italy, or a kind of religious pilgrimage to all the Temples, Groves, and sacred places, on pretence of a vow, made in his exile. This would give him an opportunity of showing himself every where in a light, which naturally attracts the affection of the multitude, by testifying a pious regard to the favorite superstitions and local religions of the Country; as the Great, in the same Country, still pay their court to the vulgar, by visiting the shrines and altars

of the Saints, which are most in vogue: he mentions these projects to Atticus, as designed to be executed in the spring, resolving in the mean while to cherish the good inclination of the people towards him, by keeping himself perpetually in the view of the City³⁵.

Catulus's portico, and Cicero's house, were rising again apace, and carried up almost to the roof; when Clodius, without any warning, attacked them, on the second of November, with a band of armed men, who demolished the portico, and drove the workmen out of Cicero's ground, and with the stones and rubbish of the place began to batter Quintus's house, with whom Cicero then lived, and at last set fire to it; so that the two Brothers, with their families, were forced to save themselves by a hasty flight. Milo had already accused Clodius for his former violences, and resolved, if possible, to bring him to justice: Clodius, on the other hand, was suing for the Ædileship, to secure himself, for one year more at least, from any prosecution: he was sure of being condemned, if ever he was brought to trial, so that whatever mischief he did in the mean time was all clear gain, and could not make his cause the worse³⁶: he now therefore gave a free course to his natural fury; was perpetually scouring the streets with his incendiaries, and threatening fire and sword to the City itself, if an assembly was not called for the election of Ædiles. In this humor, about a week after his last outrage, on the eleventh of November, happening to meet

with Cicero, in the sacred street, he presently assaulted him with stones, clubs, and drawn swords: Cicero was not prepared for the encounter, and took refuge in the Vestibule of the next house; where his attendants rallying in his defence, beat off the assailants, and could easily have killed their Leader, but that Cicero was willing, he says, to cure by diet, rather than Surgery. The day following Clodius attacked Milo's house, with sword in hand, and lighted Flambeaus, with intent to storm and burn it: but Milo was never unprovided for him; and Q. Flaccus, rallying out with a strong band of stout fellows, killed several of his men, and would have killed Clodius too, if he had not hid himself in the inner apartments of P. Sylla's house, which he made use of on this occasion as his Fortrefs³⁷.

The Senate met, on the fourteenth, to take these disorders into consideration; Clodius did not think fit to appear there; but Sylla came, to clear himself, probably from the suspicion of encouraging him in these violences, on account of the freedom which he had taken with his house³⁸. Many severe speeches were made, and vigorous counsels proposed; Marcellinus's opinion was, that Clodius should be impeached anew for these last outrages; and that no election of Ædiles should be suffered, till he was brought to a trial: Milo declared, that as long as he continued in office, the Consul Metellus should make no election; for he would take the auspices every day, on which an assembly could be held; but

Metellus contrived to waste the day in speaking, so that they were forced to break up without making any decree. Milo was as good as his word, and, having gathered a superior force, took care to obstruct the election; though the Consul Metellus employed all his power and art to elude his vigilance, and procure an assembly by stratagem; calling it to one place, and holding it in another, sometimes in the field of Mars, sometimes in the Forum; but Milo was ever beforehand with him; and, keeping a constant guard in the field, from midnight to noon, was always at hand to inhibit his proceedings, by obnouncing, as it was called, or declaring, that he was taking the auspices on that day; so that the three Brothers were baffled and disappointed, though they were perpetually haranguing and laboring to inflame the people against those, who interrupted their assemblies and right of electing; where Metellus's speeches were turbulent, Appius's rash, Clodius's furious. Cicero, who gives this account to Atticus, was of opinion, that there would be no election; and that Clodius would be brought to trial, if he was not first killed by Milo; which was likely to be his fate: Milo, says he, makes no scruple to own it; being not deterred by my misfortune, and having no envious or perfidious counsellors about him, nor any lazy Nobles to discourage him: it is commonly given out by the other side, that what he does, is all done by my advice; but they little know, how much conduct, as well as courage, there is in this Hero³⁹.

Young Lentulus, the son of the Consul, was, by the interest of his father, and the recommendation of his noble birth, chosen into the College of Augurs this summer, though not yet seventeen years old; having but just changed his puerile for the manly gown^o: Cicero was invited to the inauguration-feast, where, by eating too freely of some vegetables, which happened to please his palate, he was seized with a violent pain of the bowels, and diarrhæa; of which he sends the following account to his friend Gallus.

Cicero to Gallus.

“ After I had been laboring for ten days, with
“ a cruel disorder in my bowels, yet could not
“ convince those, who wanted me at the bar,
“ that I was ill, because I had no fever, I ran
“ away to Tusculum; having kept so strict a fast
“ for two days before, that I did not taste so
“ much as water: being worn out therefore with
“ illness and fasting, I wanted rather to see you,
“ than imagined, that you expected a visit from
“ me: for my part, I am afraid, I confess, of all
“ distempers; but especially of those, for which
“ Stoics abuse your Epicurus, when he complains
“ of the strangury and dysentery; the one of
“ which they take to be the effect of gluttony;
“ the other of a more scandalous intemperance. I
“ was apprehensive indeed of a dysentery; but
“ seem to have found benefit, either from the

“ change of air, or the relaxation of my mind,
“ or the remission of the disease itself: but that
“ you may not be surpris’d, how this should
“ happen, and what I have been doing to bring
“ it upon me; the sumptuary law, which seems
“ to introduce a simplicity of diet, did me all
“ this mischief. For since our men of taste are
“ grown so fond of covering their tables with the
“ productions of the Earth, which are excepted
“ by the law, they have found a way of dressing
“ mushrooms, and all other vegetables, so palat-
“ ably, that nothing can be more delicious: I
“ happened to fall upon these at Lentulus’s
“ Augural supper, and was taken with so violent
“ a flux, that this is the first day on which it
“ has begun to give me any ease. Thus I, who
“ used to command myself so easily in oysters and
“ lampreys, was caught with beet and mallows;
“ but I shall be more cautious for the future;
“ you, however, who must have heard of my
“ illness from Anicius, for he saw me in a fit
“ of vomiting, had a just reason, not only for
“ sending, but for coming yourself to see me.
“ I think to stay here till I recruit myself; for
“ I have lost both my strength and my flesh;
“ but, if I once get rid of my distemper, it
“ will be easy, I hope, to recover the rest.”

King Ptolemy left Rome about this time, after he had distributed immense sums among the Great, to purchase his restoration by a Roman army. The people of Ægypt had sent deputies also after him, to plead their cause before the Senate, and

to explain the reasons of their expelling him; but the King contrived to get them all assassinated on the road, before they reached the City. This piece of villany, and the notion of his having bribed all the Magistrates, had raised so general an aversion to him among the people, that he found it advisable to quit the City, and leave the management of his interest to his Agents. The Consul Lentulus, who had obtained the province of Cilicia and Cyprus, whither he was preparing to set forward, was very desirous to be charged with the commission of replacing him on his Throne; for which he had already procured a vote of the Senate: the opportunity of a command, almost in sight of Egypt, made him generally thought to have the best pretensions to that charge; and he was assured of Cicero's warm assistance in soliciting the confirmation of it.

In this situation of affairs the new Tribunes entered into office: C. Cato, of the same family with his namesake Marcus, was one of the number, a bold turbulent man, of no temper or prudence, yet a tolerable speaker, and generally on the better side in politics. Before he had born any public office, he attempted to impeach Gabinius of bribery and corruption; but not being able to get an audience of the Prætors, he had the hardiness to mount the Rostra, which was never allowed to a private Citizen, and, in a speech to the people, declared Pompey Dictator: but his presumption had like to have cost him dear; for it raised such an indignation in the audience, that

he had much difficulty to escape with his life⁴². He opened his present magistracy by declaring loudly against King Ptolemy, and all who favored him; especially Lentulus; whom he supposed to be under some private engagement with him, and for that reason was determined to baffle all their schemes.

Lupus likewise, one of his colleagues, summoned the Senate, and raised an expectation of some uncommon proposal from him: it was indeed of an extraordinary nature; to revise and annul that famed act of Cæsar's Consulship, for the division of the Campanian lands: he spoke long and well upon it, and was heard with much attention; gave great praises to Cicero, with severe reflections on Cæsar, and expostulations with Pompey, who was now abroad in the execution of his late commission: in the conclusion he told them: that, he would not demand the opinions of the particular Senators, because he had no mind to expose them to the resentment and animosity of any; but from the ill humor, which he remembered, when that act first passed, and the favor, with which he was now heard, he could easily collect the sense of the House. Upon which Marcellinus said, that he must not conclude from their silence, either what they liked or disliked; that for his own part, and he might answer too he believed, for the rest, he chose to say nothing on the subject at present, because he thought, that the cause of the Campanian lands ought not to be brought upon the stage, in Pompey's absence.

This affair being dropt, Racilius, another Tribune, rose up and renewed the debate about Milo's impeachment of Clodius, and called upon Marcellinus, the Consul elect, to give his opinion upon it: who, after inveighing against all the violences of Clodius, proposed, that, in the first place, an allotment of Judges should be made for the trial; and, after that, the election of Ædiles; and if any one attempted to hinder the trial, that he should be deemed a public enemy. The other Consul elect, Philippus, was of the same mind; but the Tribunes Cato and Cassius, spoke against it, and were for proceeding to an election before any step towards a trial. When Cicero was called upon to speak, he run through the whole series of Clodius's extravagances, as if he had been accusing him already at the bar, to the great satisfaction of the assembly: Antistius, the Tribune, seconded him, and declared, that no business should be done before the trial; and when the house was going universally into that opinion, Clodius began to speak, with intent to waste the rest of the day, while his slaves and followers without, who had seized the steps and avenues of the Senate, raised so great a noise of a sudden, in abusing some of Milo's friends, that the Senate broke up in no small hurry, and with fresh indignation at this new insult³.

There was no more business done through the remaining part of December, which was taken up chiefly with holy days. Lentulus and Metellus, whose consulship expired with the year, set forward for their several governments: the one for

Cilicia, the other for Spain: Lentulus committed the whole direction of his affairs to Cicero; and Metellus, unwilling to leave him his enemy, made up all matters with him before his departure, and wrote an affectionate letter to him afterwards from Spain; in which he acknowledges his services, and intimates, that he had given up his brother Clodius, in exchange for his friendship⁴⁴.

A. Urb. 697. Cicero's first concern, on the opening of the
 Cic. 51. new year, was to get the commission, for restoring
 Coss. King Ptolemy, confirmed to Lentulus; which came
 CN. CORNE- now under deliberation: The Tribune, Cato,
 LIUS LEN- was fierce, against restoring him at all, with the
 TULUS greatest part of the Senate on his side; taking
 MARCEL- occasion to consult the Sybilline books, on the
 LINUS, subject of some late prodigies, he chanced to find
 L. MARCIUS in them certain verses, forewarning the Roman
 PHILIP- people, not to replace an exiled King of Egypt,
 PUS. with an army. This was so pat to his purpose, that there could be no doubt of it's being forged; but Cato called up the Guardians of the books into the Rostra, to testify the passage to be genuine; where it was publicly read and explained to the people: It was laid also before the Senate, who greedily received it; and, after a grave debate on this scruple of religion, came to a resolution, that it seemed dangerous to the republic, that the King should be restored by a multitude⁴⁵. It cannot be imagined, that they laid any real stress on this admonition of the Sybil, for there was not a man either in or out

of the House, who did not take it for a fiction: but it was a fair pretext for defeating a project, which was generally disliked: They were unwilling to gratify any man's ambition, of visiting the rich country of Egypt, at the head of an army; and persuaded, that without an army, no man would be solicitous about going thither at all⁴⁶.

This point being settled, the next question was, in what manner the King should be restored: various opinions were proposed: Crassus moved, that three Ambassadors, chosen from those who had some public command, should be sent on the errand; which did not exclude Pompey: Bibulus proposed, that three private Senators; and Volcatius, that Pompey alone should be charged with it: but Cicero, Hortensius, and Lucullus, urged, that Lentulus, to whom the Senate had already decreed it, and who could execute it with most convenience, should restore him without an army. The two first opinions were soon over-ruled, and the struggle lay between Lentulus and Pompey. Cicero, though he had some reason to complain of Lentulus, since his return, particularly for the contemptible valuation of his houses, yet for the great part, which he had born, in restoring him, was very desirous to show his gratitude, and resolved to support him with all his authority; Pompey, who had obligations also to Lentulus, acted the same part towards him, which he had done before towards Cicero; by his own conduct and professions, he seemed to have Lentulus's

interest at heart; yet by the conduct of all his friends, seemed desirous to procure the employment for himself; while the King's Agents and Creditors, fancying that their business would be served the most effectually by Pompey, began openly to solicit, and even to bribe for him⁴⁷. But the Senate, through Cicero's influence, stood generally inclined to Lentulus; and after a debate, which ended in his favor, Cicero, who had been the manager of it, happening to sup with Pompey that evening, took occasion to press him with much freedom, not to suffer his name to be used in this competition; nor give a handle to his enemies, for reproaching him with the desertion of a friend, as well as an ambition, of engrossing all power to himself. Pompey seemed touched with the remonstrance, and professed to have no other thought but of serving Lentulus, while his dependents continued still to act so, as to convince every body that he could not be sincere⁴⁸.

When Lentulus's pretensions seemed to be in a hopeful way, C. Cato took a new and effectual method to disappoint them, by proposing a law to the people, for taking away his government and recalling him home. This stroke surprised every body; the Senate condemned it as factious; and Lentulus's son changed his habit upon it, in order to move the Citizens, and hinder their offering such an affront to his Father. The Tribune, Caninius, proposed another law at the same time, for sending Pompey to Ægypt: but this pleased no better than the other; and the
Consuls

Consuls contrived, that neither of them should be brought to the suffrage of the people ⁴⁹. These new contests gave a fresh interruption to Ptolemy's cause; in which Cicero's resolution was, if the commission could not be obtained for Lentulus, to prevent its being granted at least to Pompey, and save themselves the disgrace of being baffled by a competitor ⁵⁰: but the Senate was grown so sick of the whole affair, that they resolved to leave the King to shift for himself, without interposing at all in his restoration; and so the matter hung; whilst other affairs more interesting were daily rising up at home, and engaging the attention of the City.

The election of Ædiles, which had been industriously postponed through all the last summer, could not easily be kept off any longer: the City was impatient for its Magistrates: and especially for the plays and shows, with which they used to entertain them; and several also of the new Tribunes being zealous for an election, it was held at last on the twentieth of January; when Clodius was chosen Ædile, without any opposition; so that Cicero began once more to put himself upon his guard, from the certain expectation of a furious Ædileship ⁵¹.

It may justly seem strange, how a man so profligate and criminal, as Clodius, whose life was a perpetual insult on all laws, divine and human, should be suffered not only to live without punishment, but to obtain all the honors of a free City in their proper course; and it would be

natural to suspect, that we had been deceived in our accounts of him, by taking them from his enemies, did we not find them too firmly supported by facts to be called in question: but a little attention to the particular character of the man, as well as of the times, in which he lived, will enable us to solve the difficulty. First, the splendor of his family, which had born a principal share in all the triumphs of the Republic, from the very foundation of its liberty, was of great force to protect him in all his extravagances: those who know any thing of Rome, know what a strong impression this single circumstance of illustrious nobility would necessarily make upon the people; Cicero calls the nobles of this class, Prætors and Consuls elect from their cradles, by a kind of hereditary right; whose very names were sufficient to advance them to all the dignities of the state². Secondly, his personal qualities were peculiarly adapted to endear him to all the meaner sort: his bold and ready wit; his talent at haranguing; his profuse expense; and his being the first of his family, who had pursued popular measures, against the maxims of his Ancestors, who were all stern assertors of the Aristocratical power. Thirdly, the contrast of opposite factions, who had each their ends in supporting him, contributed principally to his safety: the Triumvirate willingly permitted, and privately encouraged, his violences; to make their own power not only the less odious, but even necessary, for controlling the fury of such an incendiary; and though

it was often turned against themselves, yet they chose to bear it, and dissemble their ability of repelling it, rather than destroy the man, who was playing their game for them, and by throwing the Republic into confusion, throwing it of course into their hands: the Senate, on the other side, whose chief apprehensions were from the Triumvirate, thought, that the rashness of Clodius might be of some use to perplex their measures, and stir up the people against them on proper occasions; or it humored their spleen at least, to see him often insulting Pompey to his face³³. Lastly, all, who envied Cicero, and desired to lessen his authority, privately cherished an enemy, who employed all his force to drive him from the administration of affairs: this accidental concurrence of circumstances, peculiar to the man and the times, was the thing that preserved Clodius, whose insolence could never have been endured in any quiet and regular state of the City.

By his obtaining the Ædileship, the tables were turned between him and Milo: the one was armed with the authority of a Magistrate; the other become a private man: the one freed from all apprehension of Judges and a trial; the other exposed to all that danger from the power of his antagonist: and it was not Clodius's custom to neglect any advantage against an enemy, so that he now accused Milo of the same crime, of which Milo had accused him; of public violence and breach of the laws in maintaining a band of Gladiators to the terror of the City. Milo made

his appearance to this accusation, on the second of February; when Pompey, Crassus, and Cicero appeared with him; and M. Marcellus, though Clodius's Colleague in the *Ædileship*, spoke for him at Cicero's desire; and the whole passed quietly and favorably for him on that day. The second hearing was appointed on the ninth; when Pompey undertook to plead his cause, but no sooner stood up to speak, than Clodius's mob began to exert their usual arts, and by a continual clamor of reproaches and invectives, endeavoured to hinder him from going on, or at least from being heard: but Pompey was too firm to be baffled; and spoke for near three hours, with a presence of mind which commanded silence in spite of their attempts. When Clodius rose up to answer him, Milo's party, in their turn, so disturbed and confounded him that he was not able to speak a word; while a number of Epigrams and Lampoons upon him and his Sister were thrown about, and publicly rehearsed among the multitude below, so as to make him quite furious: till recollecting himself a little, and finding it impossible to proceed in his speech, he demanded aloud of his mob, who it was, that attempted to starve them by famine? To which they presently cried out, Pompey: he then asked, who it was that desired to be sent to *Ægypt*? They all echoed, Pompey: but when he asked, who it was that they themselves had a mind to send? They answered, Crassus: for the old jealousy was now breaking out again between him and Pompey; and though he appeared that day on

Milo's side, yet he was not, as Cicero says, a real well-wisher to him.

These warm proceedings among the chiefs, brought on a fray below, among their partisans; the Clodians began the attack, but were repulsed by the Pompeians; and Clodius himself driven out of the Rostra: Cicero, when he saw the affair proceed to blows, thought it high time to retreat, and make the best of his way towards home; but no great harm was done, for Pompey, having cleared the Forum of his enemies, presently drew off his forces, to prevent any farther mischief or scandal from his side⁴.

The Senate was presently summoned, to provide some remedy for these disorders; where Pompey, who had drawn upon himself a fresh envy from his behaviour in the Ægyptian affair, was severely handled by Bibulus, Curio, Favonius, and others; Cicero chose to be absent, since he must either have offended Pompey, by saying nothing for him, or the honest party, by defending him. The same debate was carried on for several days; in which Pompey was treated very roughly by the Tribune Cato; who inveighed against him with great fierceness, and laid open his perfidy to Cicero, to whom he paid the highest compliments, and was heard with much attention by all Pompey's enemies.

Pompey answered him with an unusual vehemence; and reflecting openly on Crassus, as the author of these affronts, declared, that he would guard his life with more care, than Scipio Africa-

nus did, when Carbo murdered him. — These warm expressions seemed to open a prospect of some great agitation likely to ensue: Pompey consulted with Cicero on the proper means of his security; and acquainted him with his apprehensions of a design against his life; that Cato was privately supported, and Clodius furnished with money by Crassus; and both of them encouraged by Curio, Bibulus, and the rest, who envied him; that it was necessary for him to look to himself, since the meaner people were wholly alienated, the nobility and Senate generally disaffected, and the youth corrupted. Cicero readily consented to join forces with him, and to summon their clients and friends from all parts of Italy: for though he had no mind to fight his battles in the Senate, he was desirous to defend his person from all violence, especially against Crassus, whom he never loved: they resolved likewise to oppose, with united strength, all the attempts of Clodius and Cato against Lentulus and Milo⁵⁵. Clodius, on the other hand, was not less busy in mustering his friends against the next hearing of Milo's cause: but as his strength was much inferior to that of his adversary, so he had no expectation of getting him condemned, nor any other view, but to tease and harass him⁵⁶: for after two hearings, the affair was put off by several adjournments to the beginning of May; from which time we find no farther mention of it.

The Consul, Marcellinus, who drew his Colleague, Philippus, along with him, was a resolute opposer of the Triumvirate, as well as of

all the violences of the other Magistrates : for which reason , he resolved to suffer no assemblies of the people , except such as were necessary for the elections into the annual offices : his view was , to prevent Cato's law for recalling Lentulus , and the monstrous things , as Cicero calls them , which some were attempting at this time in favor of Cæsar. Cicero gives him the character of one of the best Consuls that he had ever known , and blames him only in one thing ; for treating Pompey on all occasions too rudely ; which made Cicero often absent himself from the Senate , to avoid taking part , either on the one side or the other ⁵⁷. For the support therefore of his dignity and interest in the City , he resumed his old task of pleading causes ; which was always popular and reputable , and in which he was sure to find full employment. His first cause was the defence of L. Bestia , on the tenth of February , who , after the disgrace of a repulse from the Prætorship in the last election , was accused of bribery and corruption in his suit for it ; and , notwithstanding the authority and eloquence of his advocate , was convicted and banished. He was a man extremely corrupt , turbulent , and seditious , had always been an enemy to Cicero ; and supposed to be deeply engaged in Catiline's plot ; and is one instance of the truth of what Cicero says , that he was often forced , against his will , to defend certain persons , who had not deserved it of him , by the intercession of those who had ⁵⁸.

Cæsar , who was now in the career of his victories in Gaul , sent a request to the Senate ; that

money might be decreed to him for the payment of his Army ; with a power of chusing ten Lieutenants, for the better management of the war, and the conquered Provinces ; and that his command should be prolonged for five years more. The demand was thought very exorbitant ; and it seemed strange , that, after all his boasted Conquests , he should not be able to maintain his army without money from home , at a time when the treasury was greatly exhausted ; and the renewal of a commission , obtained at first by violence , and against the authority of the Senate , was of hard digestion. But Cæsar's interest prevailed , and Cicero himself was the promoter of it, and procured a decree to his satisfaction ; yet not without disgusting the old patriots , who stood firm to their maxim of opposing all extraordinary grants : but Cicero alledged the extraordinary services of Cæsar ; and that the course of his victories ought not to be checked by the want of necessary supplies, while he was so gloriously extending the bounds of the Empire , and conquering nations , whose names had never been heard before at Rome : and though it were possible for him to maintain his troops without their help , by the spoils of the enemy , yet those spoils ought to be reserved for the splendor of his Triumph , which it was not just to defraud by their unseasonable parsimony ''.

He might think it imprudent perhaps , at this time , to call Cæsar home from an unfinished war, and stop the progress of his arms in the very height of his success ; yet the real motive of his

conduct seems to have flowed, not so much from the merits of the cause, as a regard to the condition of the times, and his own circumstances. For in his private letters he owns, “that the
“malevolence and envy of the Aristocratical chiefs
“had almost driven him from his old principles:
“and though not so far as to make him forget
“his dignity, yet so as to take a proper care
“of his safety; both which might be easily
“consistent, if there was any faith or gravity in
“the Consular Senators: but they had managed
“their matters so ill, that those who were superior
“to them in power, were become superior too
“in authority; so as to be able to carry in the
“Senate, what they could not have carried even
“with the people without violence: that he had
“learnt from experience, what he could not learn
“so well from books, that as no regard was to
“be had to our safety, without a regard also
“to our dignity; so the consideration of dignity
“ought not to exclude the care of our safety.”

In another letter he says, “that the state and
“form of the government was quite changed;
“and what he had proposed to himself, as the
“end of all his toils, a dignity and liberty of acting
“and voting, was quite lost and gone; that there
“was nothing left, but either meanly to assent to
“the few, who governed all; or weakly to oppose
“them, without doing any good: that he had
“dropt there foreall thoughts of that old Consular
“gravity and character of a resolute Senator,
“and resolved to conform himself to Pompey’s

“ will; that his great affection to Pompey made
“ him begin to think all things right, which were
“ useful to him; and he comforted himself with
“ reflecting, that the greatness of his obligations
“ would make all the world excuse him, for
“ defending what Pompey liked, or, at least,
“ for not opposing it; or else, what of all things
“ he most desired, if his friendship with Pompey
“ would permit him, for retiring from public
“ business, and giving himself wholly up to his
“ books “¹.”

But he was now engaged in a cause, in which he was warmly and specially interested, the defence of P. Sextius, the late Tribune. Clodius, who gave Cicero's friends no respite, having himself undertaken Milo, assigned the prosecution of Sextius to one of his confidants, M. Tullius Albinovanus, who accused him of public violence, or breach of peace in his Tribunate “². Sextius had been a true friend to Cicero in his distress, and born a great part in his restoration; but as in cases of eminent service, conferred jointly by many, every one is apt to claim the first merit, and expect the first share of praise; so Sextius, naturally morose, fancying himself neglected or not sufficiently requited by Cicero, had behaved very churlishly towards him since his return: but Cicero, who was never forgetful of past kindnesses, instead of resenting his perverseness, having heard, that Sextius was indisposed, went in person to his house, and cured him of all his jealousies, by freely offering assistance and patronage in pleading his cause “³.

This was a disappointment to the prosecutors: who flattered themselves, that Cicero was so much disgusted, that he would not be persuaded to plead for him; but he entered into the cause with a hearty inclination, and made it, as in effect it really was, his own⁴. In his speech, which is still extant, after laying open the history of his exile, and the motives of his own conduct, through the whole progress of it, he shows; “that the only
“ground of prosecuting Sextius was, his faithful
“adherence to him, or rather to the Republic;
“that by condemning Sextius, they would in
“effect condemn him, whom all the orders of the
“City had declared to be unjustly expelled, by
“the very same men, who were now attempting
“to expel Sextius: that it was a banter and
“ridicule on justice itself, to accuse a man of
“violence, who had been left for dead upon the
“spot, by the violence of those who accused him;
“and whose only crime it was, that he would not
“suffer himself to be quite killed, but presumed
“to guard his life against their future attempts.”
In short, he managed the cause so well, that Sextius was acquitted, and in a manner the most honorable, by the unanimous suffrages of all the Judges; and with an universal applause of Cicero’s humanity and gratitude⁵.

Pompey attended this trial as a friend to Sextius; while Cæsar’s creature, Vatinius, appeared not only as an adversary, but a witness against him: which gave Cicero an opportunity of lashing him, as Sextius particularly desired, with all the keenness

of his raillery, to the great diversion of the audience; for instead of interrogating him in the ordinary way, about the facts deposed in the trial, he contrived to tease him with a perpetual series of questions, which revived and exposed the iniquity of his factious Tribunate, and the whole course of his profligate life, from his first appearance in public; and, in spite of all his impudence, quite daunted and confounded him. Vatinius, however, made some feeble effort to defend himself, and rally Cicero in his turn; and among other things, reproached him with the baseness of changing sides, and becoming Cæsar's friend, on account of the fortunate state of his affairs; to which Cicero briskly replied, though Pompey himself stood by, that he still preferred the condition of Bibulus's Consulship, which Vatinius thought abject and miserable, to the victories and triumphs of all men whatsoever. This speech against Vatinius is still remaining, under the title of the interrogation; and is nothing else but what Cicero himself calls it, a perpetual invective on the Magistracy of Vatinius, and the conduct of those who supported him “.

In the beginning of April, the Senate granted the sum of three hundred thousand pounds to Pompey, to be laid out in purchasing corn for the use of the City; where there was still a great scarcity, and as great at the same time of money: so that the moving a point so tender could not fail of raising some ill humor in the assembly; when Cicero, whose old spirits seemed to have revived

in him, from his late success in Sextius's cause, surprised them by proposing, that in the present inability of the treasury to purchase the Campanian lands, which by Cæsar's act were to be divided to the people, the act itself should be reconsidered, and a day appointed for that deliberation: the motion was received with an universal joy, and a kind of tumultuary acclamation: the enemies of the Triumvirate were extremely pleased with it, in hopes that it would make a breach between Cicero and Pompey, but it served only for a proof, of what Cicero himself observes, that it is very hard for a man to depart from his old sentiments in politics, when they are right and just⁶⁷.

Pompey, whose nature was singularly reserved, expressed no uneasiness upon it, nor took any notice of it to Cicero, though they met and supped together familiarly, as they used to do: but he set forward soon after towards Africa, in order to provide corn; and intending to call at Sardinia, proposed to embark at Pisa or Leghorn, that he might have an interview with Cæsar, who was now at Luca, the utmost limit of his Gallic Government. He found Cæsar exceedingly out of humor with Cicero; for Crassus had already been with him at Ravenna, and greatly incensed him by his account of Cicero's late motion, which he complained of so heavily, that Pompey promised to use all his authority, to induce Cicero to drop the pursuit of it; and for that purpose sent away an express to Rome, to entreat him, not to pro-

ceed any farther in it till his return ; and when he came afterwards to Sardinia , where his Lieutenant , Q Cicero , then resided , he entered immediately into an expostulation with him about it , “ recounting all his services to his Brother , “ and that every thing , which he had done “ for him , was done with Cæsar’s consent ; and “ reminding him of a former conversation between themselves concerning Cæsar’s acts , and “ what Quintus himself had undertaken for his “ Brother on that head ; and as he then made “ himself answerable for him , so he was now “ obliged to call him to the performance of those “ engagements : in short , he begged of him to “ press his Brother to support and defend Cæsar’s “ interests and dignity , or if he could not persuade “ him to that , to engage him at least , not to act “ against them “ . ”

This remonstrance from Pompey , enforced by his Brother Quintus , staggered Cicero’s resolution and made him enter into a fresh deliberation with himself about the measures of his conduct ; where after casting up the sum of all his thoughts , and weighing every circumstance , which concerned either his own or the public interest , he determined at last to drop the affair , rather than expose himself again , in his present situation , to the animosity of Pompey and Cæsar ; for which he makes the following apology to his friend Lentulus : “ that those , who professed the “ same principles , and were embarked in the same “ cause with him , were perpetually envying and

“ thwarting him , and more disgusted by the
“ splendor of his life , than pleased with any
“ thing which he did for the public service ;
“ that their own pleasure , and what they could
“ not even dissemble , while he was acting with
“ them , was to see him disoblige Pompey , and
“ make Cæsar his enemy ; when they , at the
“ same time , were continually careſſing Clodius
“ before his face , on purpose to mortify him ;
“ that if the Government indeed had fallen into
“ wicked and desperate hands , neither hopes nor
“ fears , nor gratitude itself could have prevailed
“ with him to join with them ; but when Pom-
“ pey held the chief ſway , who had acquired it
“ by the most illustrious merit , whose dignity
“ he had always favored from his first ſetting
“ out in the world , and from whom he had
“ received the greateſt obligations ; and who , at
“ that very time , made his enemy the common
“ enemy of them both ; he had no reason to
“ apprehend the charge of inconstancy , if , on
“ ſome occasions , he voted and acted a little
“ differently from what he uſed to do , in com-
“ plaiſance to ſuch a friend : that his union with
“ Pompey neceſſarily included Cæſar , with whom
“ both he and his Brother had a friendſhip alſo of
“ long ſtanding ; which they were invited to
“ renew , by all manner of civilities and good
“ offices , freely offered on Cæſar’s part : that
“ after Cæſar’s great exploits and victories , the
“ Republic itſelf ſeemed to interpoſe , and forbid
“ him to quarrel with ſuch men ; that when he

“ stood in need of their assistance, his Brother had
“ engaged his word for him to Pompey, and
“ Pompey to Cæsar; and he thought himself
“ obliged to make good those engagements ”.

This was the general state of his political behaviour: he had a much larger view, and more comprehensive knowledge both of men and things, than the other chiefs of the Aristocracy, Bibulus, Marcellinus, Cato, Favonius, &c. whose stiffness had ruined their cause, and brought them into the present subjection by alienating Pompey and the Equestrian order from the Senate: they considered Cicero's management of the Triumvirate, as a mean submission to illegal power, which they were always opposing and irritating, though ever so unseasonably; whereas Cicero thought it time to give over fighting, when the forces were so unequal; and that the more patiently they suffered the dominion of their New Masters, the more temperately they would use it^o; being persuaded, that Pompey, at least, who was the head of them, had no designs against the public liberty, unless he were provoked and driven to it by the perverse opposition of his enemiesⁿ. These were the grounds of that complaisance, which he now generally paid to him, for the sake both of his own and the public quiet: in consequence of which, when the appointed day came, for considering the case of the Campanian lands, the debate dropt of course, when it was understood that Cicero, the mover of it, was absent, and had changed his mind: though it was not, as he intimates

intimates, without some struggle in his own breast, that he submitted to this step, which was likely to draw upon him an imputation of levity⁷².

His daughter, Tullia, having now lived a widow about a year, was married to a second husband, Furius Crassipes; and the wedding Feast held at Cicero's house, on the sixth of April: we find very little said, of the character or condition of this Crassipes; but by Cicero's care in making the match, the fortune which he paid, and the congratulation of his friends upon it, he appears to have been a Nobleman of principal rank and dignity⁷³. Atticus also, who was about a year younger than Cicero, was married this spring to Pilia, and invited him to the wedding⁷⁴. As to his domestic affairs, his chief care at present was about rebuilding three of his houses, which were demolished in his exile; and repairing the rest, with that also of his Brother, out of which they were driven in the last attack of Clodius: by the hints, which he gives of them, they all seem to have been very magnificent, and built under the direction of the best Architects: Clodius gave no farther interruption to them, being forced to quit the pursuit of Cicero, in order to watch the motions of a more dangerous enemy, Milo. Cicero, however, was not without a share of uneasiness, within his own walls; his Brother's wife and his own, neither agreed well with each other, nor their own husbands; Quintus's was displeased at her husband's staying so long abroad; and Cicero's not disposed to make her's the hap-

pier for staying at home. His Nephew also, Young Quintus, a perverse youth, spoiled by a mother's indulgence, added somewhat to his trouble; for he was now charged with the care of his education, in the Father's absence; and had him taught, under his own eye, by Tyrannio, a Greek Master; who, with several other learned men of that country, was entertained in his house".

King Ptolemy's affair was no more talked of; Pompey had other business upon his hands, and was so ruffled by the Tribune, Cato, and the Consul, Marcellinus, that he laid aside all thoughts of it for himself, and wished to serve Lentulus in it. The Senate had passed a vote against restoring him at all; but one of the Tribunes inhibited them from proceeding to a decree; and a former decree was actually subsisting in favor of Lentulus: Cicero therefore, after a consultation with Pompey, sent him their joint and last advice; "that by his command of a province, so near to
" Egypt, as he was the best judge of what he
" was able to do, so if he found himself master
" of the thing, and was assured of success, he
" might leave the king at Ptolemais, or some
" other neighbouring City, and proceed with-
" out him to Alexandria; where, if by the influ-
" ence of his fleet and troops he could appease
" the public dissensions, and persuade the Inha-
" bitants to receive their King peaceably, he
" might then carry him home, and so restore
" him according to the first decree; yet without

“ a multitude, as our religious men, ” says he,
“ tell us, the Sybil has enjoined — that it was the
“ opinion, however, of them both, that people
“ would judge of the fact by the event: If he
“ was certain therefore of carrying his point, he
“ should not defer it; if doubtful, should not
“ undertake it: for as the world would applaud
“ him, if he effected it with ease, so a miscar-
“ riage might be fatal, on account of the late
“ vote of the Senate, and the scruple about reli-
“ gion⁷⁶. ” But Lentulus, wisely judging the
affair too hazardous for one of his dignity and
fortunes, left it to a man of a more desperate
character, Gabinius; who ruined himself soon
after by embarking in it.

The Tribune Cato, who was perpetually in-
veighing against keeping Gladiators, like so many
standing armies, to the terror of the Citizens,
had lately bought a band of them, but finding
himself unable to maintain them, was contriving
to part with them again without noise or scandal.
Milo got notice of it, and privately employed
a person, not one of his own friends, to buy
them; and when they were purchased, Racilius,
another Tribune, taking the matter upon himself,
and pretending that they were bought for him,
published a proclamation, that Cato's family of
Gladiators was to be sold by auction; which gave
no small diversion to the City⁷⁷.

Milo's trial being put off to the fifth of May,
Cicero took the benefit of a short vacation, to
make an excursion into the country, and visit

his estates and Villas in different parts of Italy. He spent five days at Arpinum, whence he proceeded to his other houses at Pompeiæ and Cumæ; and stopt a while, on his return, at Antium, where he had lately rebuilt his house, and was now disposing and ordering his library, by the direction of Tyrannio; the remains of which, he says, were more considerable than he expected from the late ruin. Atticus lent him two of his Librarians to assist his own, in taking Catalogues, and placing the books in order; which he calls the infusion of a soul into the body of his house⁷⁸. During this tour, his old enemy, Gabinius, the Proconsul of Syria, having gained some advantage in Judæa against Aristobulus, who had been dethroned by Pompey, and on that account was raising troubles in the country, sent public letters to the Senate to give an account of his victory, and to beg the decree of a thanksgiving for it. His friends took the opportunity of moving the affair in Cicero's absence, from whose authority they apprehended some obstruction; but the Senate, in a full House, slighted his letters and rejected his suit: an affront, which had never been offered before to any Proconsul. Cicero was infinitely delighted with it, calls the resolution divine, and was doubly pleased for its being the free and genuine judgment of the Senate, without any struggle or influence on his part; and reproaching Gabinius with it afterwards, says, that by this act the Senate had declared, that they could not believe that he, whom they had always

known to be a traitor at home, could ever do any thing abroad, that was useful to the Republic⁷⁹.

Many prodigies were reported to have happened about this time, in the neighbourhood of Rome; horrible noises under ground, with clashing of Arms; and on the Alban hill a little shrine of Juno, which stood on a table facing the east, turned suddenly of itself towards the north. These terrors alarmed the City, and the Senate consulted the Haruspices, who were the public Diviners or Prophets of the State, skilled in all the Tuscan discipline of interpreting portentous events; who gave the following answer in writing; that supplications must be made to Jupiter, Saturn, Neptune, and the other Gods: that the solemn shows and plays had been negligently exhibited and polluted: sacred and religious places made profane: Ambassadors killed contrary to right and law: faith and oaths disregarded: ancient and hidden sacrifices carelessly performed, and profaned—that the Gods gave this warning, lest by the discord and dissension of the better sort, dangers and destruction should fall upon the Senate and the chiefs of the City; by which means the provinces would fall under the power of a single person; their armies be beaten, great loss ensue, and honors be heaped on the unworthy and disgraced—⁸⁰.

One may observe from this answer, that the Diviners were under the direction of those, who endeavoured to apply the influence of religion to the cure of their civil disorders: each party inter-

preted it according to their own views: Clodius took a handle from it of venting his spleen afresh against Cicero; and calling the people together for that purpose, attempted to persuade them, that this divine admonition was designed particularly against him; and that the article of the sacred and religious places referred to the case of his house, which after a solemn consecration to religion, was rendered again profane; charging all the displeasure of the Gods to Cicero's account, who affected nothing less than a tyranny, and the oppression of their liberties⁸¹.

Cicero made a reply to Clodius the next day in the Senate; where, after a short and general invective upon his profligate life, "he leaves
"him," he says, "a devoted victim to Milo,
"who seemed to be given to them by heaven,
"for the extinction of such a plague; as Scipio
"was for the destruction of Carthage: he de-
"clares the prodigy to be one of the most ex-
"traordinary, which had ever been reported to
"the Senate; but laughs at the absurdity of ap-
"plying any part of it to him; since his house,
"as he proves at large, was more solemnly
"cleared from any service or relation to religion,
"than any other house in Rome, by the Judge-
"ment of the Priests, the Senate, and all the
"orders of the City⁸²." Then running through the several articles of the answer, "he shows them
"all to tally so exactly with the notorious acts
"and impieties of Clodius's life, that they could
"not possibly be applied to any thing else.—

“ That as to the sports, said to be negligently
“ performed and polluted, it clearly denoted the
“ pollution of the Megalensian plays; the most
“ venerable and religious of all other shows;
“ which Clodius himself, as *Ædile*, exhibited
“ in honor of the mother of the Gods; where,
“ when the Magistrates and Citizens were seated
“ to partake of the diversions, and the usual
“ proclamation was made, to command all slaves
“ to retire; a vast body of them, gathered from
“ all parts of the City, by the order of Clodius,
“ forced their way upon the stage, to the great
“ terror of the assembly; where much mischief
“ and bloodshed would have ensued, if the
“ Consul Marcellinus, by his firmness and pre-
“ sence of mind, had not quieted the tumult:
“ and in another representation of the same
“ plays, the slaves, encouraged again by Clodi-
“ us, were so audacious and successful in a se-
“ cond irruption, that they drove the whole
“ company out of the Theatre, and possessed it
“ entirely to themselves”: that as to the profa-
“ nation of sacred and religious places; it could
“ not be interpreted of any thing so aptly, as
“ of what Clodius and his friends had done:
“ for that, in the house of Q. Seius, which he
“ had bought after murdering the owner, there
“ was a chapel and altars, which he had lately
“ demolished: that L. Piso had destroyed a cele-
“ brated chapel of Diana, where all that neigh-
“ bourhood, and some even of the Senate, used
“ annually to perform their family - sacrifices:

“ that Serranus also had thrown down, burnt,
“ and profaned several consecrated chapels, and
“ raised other buildings upon them”: that as
“ to Ambassadors killed contrary to law and right,
“ though it was commonly interpreted of those
“ from Alexandria, yet other Ambassadors had
“ been murdered, whose death was no less of-
“ fensive to the Gods; as Theodosius, killed
“ with the privity and permission of Clodius; and
“ Plator, by the order of Piso”: as to the vio-
“ lation of faith and oaths, that it related evidently
“ to those Judges, who had absolved Clodius;
“ as being one of the most memorable and fla-
“ grant perjuries, which Rome had ever known;
“ that the answer itself suggested this interpreta-
“ tion, when it subjoined, that ancient and occult
“ sacrifices were polluted; which could refer
“ to nothing so properly as to the rites of the
“ Bona Dea; which were the most ancient and
“ the most occult of any in the City; celebrated
“ with incredible secrecy to that Goddess, whose
“ name it was not lawful for men to know;
“ and with ceremonies, which no man ever pried
“ into, but Clodius”. Then as to the warn-
“ ing, given by the Gods, of dangers, likely to
“ ensue from the dissensions of the principal Ci-
“ tizens; that there was no man so particularly
“ active in promoting those dissensions, as Clo-
“ dius; who was perpetually inflaming one side
“ or the other; now pursuing popular, now
“ Aristocratical measures; at one time a favorite
“ of the Triumvirate, at another of the Senate;

“ whose credit was wholly supported by their
“ quarrels and animosities. He exhorts them
“ therefore in the conclusion, to beware of fall-
“ ing into those miseries, of which the Gods so
“ evidently forewarned them; and to take care
“ especially, that the form of the Republic was
“ not altered; since all civil contests between
“ great and powerful Citizens must necessarily end,
“ either in an universal destruction, or a tyranny
“ of the Conqueror: that the state was now in
“ so tottering a condition, that nothing could
“ preserve it but their concord: that there was
“ no hope of it's being better, while Clodius re-
“ mained unpunished: and but one degree left
“ of being worse, by being wholly ruined and
“ enslaved; for the prevention of which, the
“ Gods had given them this remarkable admo-
“ nition; for they were not to believe, what
“ was sometimes represented on the stage, that
“ any God ever descended from heaven to con-
“ verse familiarly with men; but that these ex-
“ traordinary sounds and agitations of the world,
“ the air, the elements, were the only voice
“ and speech, which heaven made use of; that
“ these admonished them of their danger, and
“ pointed out the remedy; and that the Gods,
“ by intimating so freely the way of their safety,
“ had shown, how easy it would be to pacify
“ them, by pacifying only their own animosities
“ and discords among themselves.”

About the middle of the summer, and be-
fore the time of chusing new Consuls, which was

commonly in August, the Senate began to deliberate on the Provinces, which were to be assigned to them at the expiration of their office. The Consular Provinces, about which the debate singly turned, were the two Gauls, which Cæsar now held; Macedonia, which Piso; and Syria, which Gabinius possessed. All who spoke before Cicero, excepting Servilius, were for taking one, or both the Gauls from Cæsar, which was what the Senate generally desired: but when it came to Cicero's turn, he gladly laid hold on the occasion to revenge himself on Piso and Gabinius; and exerted all his authority, to get them recalled with some marks of disgrace, and their Governments assigned to the succeeding Consuls: but as for Cæsar, his opinion was, that his command should be continued to him, till he had finished the war, which he was carrying on with such success, and settled the conquered countries. This gave no small offence; and the Consul Philippus could not forbear interrupting and reminding him, that he had more reason to be angry with Cæsar, than with Gabinius himself; since Cæsar was the author and raiser of all that storm, which had oppressed him. But Cicero replied, that, in this vote, he was not pursuing his private resentment, but the public good, which had reconciled him to Cæsar; and that he could not be an enemy to one who was deserving so well of his country: that a year or two more would complete his conquests, and reduce all Gaul to a state of peaceful subjection: that the cause was widely different between Cæsar

and the other two; that Cæsar's administration was beneficial, prosperous, glorious to the Republic; their's, scandalous, ignominious, hurtful to their subjects, and contemptible to their enemies. — In short, he managed the debate so, that the Senate came fully into his Sentiments, and decreed the revocation of Piso and Gabinius ⁸⁷.

He was now likewise engaged in pleading two considerable causes at the Bar; the one in defence of Cornelius Balbus, the other of M. Cælius. Balbus was a native of Gades in Spain, of a splendid family in that City, who, for his fidelity and services to the Roman Generals in that Province, and especially in the Sertorian war, had the freedom of Rome conferred upon him by Pompey, in virtue of a law, which authorized him to grant it to as many as he thought proper. But Pompey's act was now called in question, as originally null and invalid, on a pretence, that the City of Gades was not within the terms of that alliance and relation to Rome, which rendered its Citizens capable of that privilege. Pompey and Crassus were his advocates, and, at their desire, Cicero also; who had the third place, or post of honor assigned to him, to give the finishing hand to the cause ⁸⁸. The prosecution was projected, not so much out of enmity to Balbus, as to his Patrons Pompey and Cæsar; by whose favor he had acquired great wealth and power; being at this time General of the Artillery to Cæsar, and the principal manager or steward of all his affairs. The Judges gave sentence for him, and con-

firmed his right to the City; from which foundation he was raised afterwards, by Augustus, to the Consulate itself: his Nephew also, Young Balbus, who was made free with him at the same time, obtained the honor of a triumph, for his victories over the Garamantes; and, as Pliny tells us, they were the only instances of Foreigners, and adopted Citizens, who had ever advanced themselves to either of those honors in Rome⁸⁹.

Cælius, whom he next defended, was a young Gentleman of Equestrian rank, of great parts and accomplishments, trained under the discipline of Cicero himself; to whose care he was committed by his Father, upon his first introduction into the Forum: before he was of age to hold any Magistracy, he had distinguished himself by two public impeachments; the one of C. Antonius, Cicero's colleague in the Consulship, for conspiring against the state; the other of L. Atratinus, for bribery and corruption. Atratinus's son was now revenging his Father's quarrel, and accused Cælius of public violence, for being concerned in the assassination of Dio, the chief of the Alexandrian embassy; and of an attempt to poison Clodia, the sister of Clodius: he had been this Lady's Gallant, whose resentment for her favors slighted by him, was the real source of all his trouble. In this speech Cicero treats the character and gallantries of Clodia, her Commerce with Cælius, and the gaieties and licentiousness of youth, with such a vivacity of wit and humor, that makes it one of the most entertaining, which he has left

to us. Cælius, who was truly a Libertine, lived on the Palatine hill, in a house which he hired of Clodius, and, among the other proofs of his extravagance, it was objected, that a young man, in no public employment, should take a separate house from his Father, at the yearly rent of two hundred and fifty pounds: to which Cicero replied, that Clodius, he perceived, had a mind to sell his house, by setting the value of it so high; whereas, in truth, it was but a little paultry dwelling, of small rent, scarce above eighty pounds per annum". Cælius was acquitted, and ever after professed the highest regard for Cicero; with whom he held a correspondence of Letters, which will give us occasion to speak more of him, in the sequel of the History.

Cicero seems to have composed a little Poem about this time, in compliment to Cæsar: and excuses his not sending it to Atticus, "because
" Cæsar pressed to have it, and he had reserved
" no copy: though, to confess the truth," he says,
" he found it very difficult to digest the mean-
" nefs of recanting his old principles. But adieu,"
says he, "to all right, true, honest counsels: it
" is incredible, what perfidy there is in those,
" who want to be Leaders, and who really would
" be so, if there was any faith in them. I felt
" what they were to my cost, when I was
" drawn in, deserted, and betrayed, by them:
" I resolved still to act on with them in all
" things; but found them the same as before;
" till by your advice I came at last to a better

“ mind. You will tell me, that you advised me
“ indeed to act, but not to write; it is true; but
“ I was willing to put myself under a necessity of
“ adhering to my new alliance, and preclude the
“ possibility of returning to those, who instead
“ of pitying me, as they ought, never cease en-
“ vying me. — But since those, who have no
“ power, will not love me, my business is to
“ acquire the love of those who have: you will
“ say, I wish that you had done it long ago; I
“ know you wished it; and I was a mere Ass for
“ not minding you ”. ”

In this year also, Cicero wrote that celebrated letter to Luceius, in which he presses him, to attempt the history of his transactions: Luceius was a man of eminent learning and abilities, and had just finished the history of the Italic and Marian civil wars; with intent to carry it down through his own times, and, in the general relation, to include, as he had promised, a particular account of Cicero's acts: but Cicero, who was pleased with his style and manner of writing, labors to engage him in this letter, to postpone the design of his continued history, and enter directly on that separate period, “ from the be-
“ ginning of his Consulship to his restoration;
“ comprehending Catiline's conspiracy, and his
“ own exile. ” He observes, “ that this short
“ interval was distinguished with such a variety
“ of incidents, and unexpected turns of fortune,
“ as furnished the happiest materials, both to
“ the skill of the writer, and the entertainment of

“ the reader; that, when an author’s atten-
“ tion was confined to a single and select subject,
“ he was more capable of adorning it, and dis-
“ playing his talents, than in the wide and dif-
“ fusive field of general history; but if he did
“ not think the facts themselves worth the pains
“ of adorning, that he would yet allow so much
“ to friendship, to affection, and even to that
“ favor, which he had so laudably disclaimed in
“ his Prefaces, as not to confine himself scrupu-
“ lously to the strict laws of history, and the
“ rules of truth. ——— That, if he would under-
“ take it, he would supply him with some rough
“ memoirs, or commentaries, for the foundation
“ of his work; if not, that he himself should be
“ forced to do, what many had done before
“ him, write his own life; a task liable to
“ many exceptions and difficulties; where a
“ man would necessarily be restrained by mo-
“ desty, on the one hand, or partiality on the
“ other, either for blaming, or praising him-
“ self, so much as he deserved, &c. ”.

This letter is constantly alledged as a proof of Cicero’s vanity, and excessive love of praise: but we must consider it as written, not by a philosopher, but a statesman, conscious of the greatest services to his country, for which he had been barbarously treated; and, on that account, the more eager to have them represented in an advantageous light: and impatient to taste some part of that glory when living, which he was sure to reap from them when dead: and as to the

passage which gives the offence, where he presses his friend to exceed even the bounds of truth in his praises; it is urged only, we see, conditionally, and upon an absurd or improbable supposition, that Luceius did not think the acts themselves really laudable, or worth praising: but whatever exceptions there may be to the morality, there can be none to the elegance and composition of the letter; which is filled with a variety of beautiful sentiments, illustrated by examples, drawn from a perfect knowledge of history; so that it is justly ranked among the capital pieces of the epistolary kind, which remain to us from antiquity. Cicero had employed more than ordinary pains upon it, and was pleased with his success in it: for he mentions it to Atticus with no small satisfaction, and wished him to get a copy of it from their friend Luceius. The effect of it was, that Luceius undertook what Cicero desired, and probably made some progress in it, since Cicero sent him the memoirs, which he promised, and Luceius lived many years after, in an uninterrupted friendship with him, though neither this, nor any other of his writings had the fortune to be preserved to succeeding ages⁹.

All people's eyes and inclinations began now to turn towards Cæsar, who by the eclat of his victories, seemed to rival the fame of Pompey himself; and, by his address and generosity, gained ground upon him daily in authority and influence in public affairs. He spent the winter at Luca; whither a vast concourse of all ranks resorted

resorted to him from Rome. Here Pompey and Crassus were again made friends by him; and a project formed, that they should jointly seize the Consulship for the next year, though they had not declared themselves Candidates, within the usual time. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, a professed enemy, was one of the competitors; who thinking himself sure of success, could not forbear bragging, that he would effect, when Consul, what he could not do when Prætor, rescind Cæsar's acts, and recal him from his Government⁹⁴; which made them resolve at all hazards to defeat him. What greatly favored their design was the obstinacy of the Tribune, C. Cato; who, to revenge himself on Marcellinus, for not suffering him to hold any assemblies of the people, for promulgating his laws, would not suffer the Consuls to hold any, for the choice of the Magistrates⁹⁵. The Triumvirate supported him in this resolution till the year expired, and the Government fell into an Inter-regnum; when by faction and violence, and the terror of troops poured into the City, they extorted the Consulship out of the hands of Domitius, and secured it to themselves⁹⁶. This made Pompey generally odious, who, in all this height of greatness, could not defend himself from the perpetual raileries and insults of his adversaries; which yet he bore with singular temper and patience. Marcellinus was constantly alarming the City with the danger of his power; and as he was haranguing one day on that subject, being encouraged by a general acclamation of the people;

cry out, Citizens, says he, cry out while you may; for it will not be long in your power to do so with safety". Cn. Piso also, a young Nobleman, who had impeached Manilius Crispus, a man of Prætorian rank and notoriously guilty, being provoked by Pompey's protection of him, turned his attack against Pompey himself, and charged him with many crimes against the State; being asked therefore by Pompey, why he did not chuse to impeach him rather than the Criminal, he replied briskly, that if he would give bail to stand a trial, without raising a civil war, he would soon bring him before his Judges⁹⁸.

A. Urb. 698. During the continuance of these tumults, oc-
 Cic. 52. casioned by the election of the new Consuls, Ci-
 Coss. cero retired into the country; where he staid to
 CN. POMPEI- the beginning of May, much out of humor, and
 US MAG- disgusted both with the Republic and himself.
 NUS II. Atticus's constant advice to him was, to consult
 M. LICINIUS his safety and interest, by uniting himself with
 CRASSUS the men of power; and they, on their part, were
 II. as constantly inviting him to it, by all possible
 assurances of their affection: but in his answers
 to Atticus he observes; "that their two cases
 " were very different; that Atticus, having no
 " peculiar character, suffered no peculiar indig-
 " nity; nothing but what was common to all
 " the Citizens; whereas his own condition was
 " such, that if he spoke what he ought to do, he
 " should be looked upon as a madman; if what
 " was useful only to himself, as a slave; if no-
 " thing at all, as quite oppressed and subdued:

“ that his uneasiness was the greater , because he
“ could not show it without being thought un-
“ grateful — shall I withdraw myself then,” says
he, “ from business , and retire to the port of
“ ease ? That will not be allowed to me. Shall
“ I follow these Leaders to the wars , and , after
“ having refused to command , submit to be
“ commanded ? I will do so ; for I see that it is
“ your advice , and wish that I had always fol-
“ lowed it : or shall I resume my posts and enter
“ again into affairs ? I cannot persuade myself to
that , but begin to think Philoxenus in the
“ right ; who chose to be carried back to prison
“ rather than commend the Tyrant’s verses. This
“ is what I am now meditating ; to declare my
“ dislike at least of what they are doing ”.

Such were the agitations of his mind at this time , as he frequently signifies in his letters : he was now at one of his Villas , on the delightful shore of Baiæ , the chief place of resort and pleasure for the great and rich ; Pompey came thither in April , and no sooner arrived , than he sent him his compliments , and spent his whole time with him : they had much discourse on public affairs , in which Pompey expressed great uneasiness , and owned himself dissatisfied with his own part in them ; but Cicero , in his account of the conversation , intimates some suspicion of his sincerity¹⁰⁹. In the midst of this company and diversion , Cicero’s entertainment was in his studies ; for he never resided any where without securing to himself the use of a good library : here he had the com-

mand of Faustus's, the son of Sylla, and son-in-law of Pompey; one of the best collections of Italy; gathered from the spoils of Greece, and especially of Athens, from which Sylla brought away many thousand volumes. He had no body in the house with him, but Dionysius, a learned Greek slave, whom Atticus had made free, and who was intrusted with the instruction of the two young Ciceros, the son and the Nephew: with this companion, he was devouring books, since the wretched state of the public had deprived him, as he tells us, of all other pleasures. I had much rather, says he to Atticus, be sitting on your little bench, under Aristotle's picture, than in the Curule chairs of our great ones; or taking a turn with you in your walks, than with him, whom it must, I see, be my fate to walk with: as for the success of that walk, let fortune look to it, or some God, if there be any, who takes care of us¹⁰¹. He mentions in the same letter a current report at Puteoli, that King Ptolemy was restored; and desires to know, what account they had of it at Rome: the report was very true; for Gabinius, tempted by Ptolemy's gold, and the plunder of Ægypt; and encouraged also, as some write, by Pompey himself, undertook to replace him on the Throne with his Syrian Army; which he executed with a high hand, and the destruction of all the King's enemies; in open defiance of the authority of the Senate, and the direction of the Sybil: this made a great noise at Rome, and irritated the people to such a degree, that they resolved to make him

feel their displeasure for it very severely, at his return ¹⁰².

His Colleague Piso came home the first from his nearer Government of Macedonia; after an inglorious administration of a Province, whence no Consular Senator had ever returned, but to a triumph. For though, on the account of some trifling advantage in the field, he had procured himself to be saluted Emperor by his army, yet the occasion was so contemptible, that he durst not send any letters upon it to the Senate: but after oppressing the subjects, plundering the allies, and losing the best part of his troops against the neighbouring barbarians, who invaded and laid waste the country, he ran away in disguise from a mutiny of the soldiers, whom he disbanded at last without their pay ¹⁰³. When he arrived at Rome, he stript his Fasces of their laurel, and entered the City obscurely and ignominiously, without any other attendance than his own retinue ¹⁰⁴. On his first appearance in public, trusting to the authority of his son-in-law, Cæsar, he had the hardiness to attack Cicero, and complain to the Senate of his injurious treatment of him: but when he began to reproach him with the disgrace of his exile, the whole Assembly interrupted him by a loud and general clamor ¹⁰⁵. Among other things, with which he upbraided Cicero, he told him, that it was not any envy for what he had done, but the vanity of what he had said, which had driven him into exile; and that a single verse of his,

Cedunt arma Togæ, concedat laurea linguæ,

was the cause of all his calamity; by provoking Pompey to make him feel, how much the power of the general was superior to that of the Orator: he put him in mind also, that it was mean and ungenerous to exert his spleen only against such, whom he had reason to contemn, without daring to meddle with those, who had more power, and where his resentment was more due¹⁰⁶. But it had been better for him, to have stifled his complaints and suffered Cicero to be quiet; who exasperated by his imprudent attack, made a Reply to him upon the spot, in an invective speech, the severest perhaps, that was ever spoken by any man, on the person, the parts, the whole life and conduct of Piso; which, as long as the Roman name subsists, must deliver down a most detestable character of him to all posterity. As to the verse, with which he was urged, he ridicules the absurdity of Piso's application of it, and tells him, "that he had contrived a very extraordinary punishment for poor poets, if they were to be banished for every bad line: that he was a Critic of a new kind; not an Aristarchus, but a Grammatical Phalaris; who, instead of expunging the verse, was for destroying the author: that the verse itself could not imply any affront to any man whatsoever: that he was an ass, and did not know his letters, to imagine, that by the Gown, he meant his own gown; or by arms, the arms of any particular General;

“ and not to see, that he was speaking only in
“ the Poetical style; and as the one was the emblem
“ of peace, the other of war, that he could mean
“ nothing else, than that the tumults and dangers,
“ with which the City had been threatened, must
“ now give way to peace and tranquillity: that
“ he might have stuck a little indeed in explaining
“ the latter part of the verse, if Piso himself had
“ not helped him out; who, by trampling his
“ own laurel under foot at the Gates of Rome,
“ had declared how much he thought it inferior to
“ every other kind of honor — that as for
“ Pompey, it was silly to think that, after the
“ volumes, which he had written in his praise,
“ one silly verse should make him at last his ene-
“ my: but that in truth, he never was his ene-
“ my; and if, on a certain occasion, he had
“ shown any coldness towards him, it was all
“ owing to the perfidy and malice of such as
“ Piso; who were continually infusing jealousies
“ and suspicions into him, till they had removed
“ from his confidence all who loved either him,
“ or the Republic ¹⁰⁷. ”

About this time, the Theatre, which Pompey had built at his own charge, for the use and ornament of the City, was solemnly opened and dedicated: it is much celebrated by the ancients, for its grandeur and magnificence: the plan was taken from the Theatre of Mytilene, but greatly enlarged, so as to receive commodiously forty thousand people. It was surrounded by a Portico, to shelter the company in bad weather, and had

a Curia, or Senate-house, annexed to it; with a Basilica also, or grand Hall, proper for the sittings of Judges, or any other public business: which were all finished at Pompey's cost, and adorned with a great number of Images, formed by the ablest masters, of men and women, famed for something very remarkable or prodigious in their lives and characters¹⁰⁸. Atticus undertook the care of placing all these statues, for which Pompey charged Cicero with his thanks to him¹⁰⁹; but what made this Fabric the more surprising and splendid, was a beautiful Temple, erected at one end of it to Venus the Conqueress; and so contrived, that the seats of the Theatre might serve as stairs to the Temple. This was designed, it is said, to avoid the reproach of making so vast an expense for the meer use of luxury; the Temple being so placed, that those who came to the shows, might seem to come to worship the Goddess¹¹⁰.

At the solemnity of this dedication, Pompey entertained the people with the most magnificent shows, which had ever been exhibited in Rome: in the Theatre, were stage-plays, prizes of music, wrestling, and all kinds of bodily exercises; in the Circus, horse-races, and huntings of wild beasts for five days successively; in which five hundred lions were killed; and on the last day, twenty elephants: whose lamentable howling, when mortally wounded, raised such a commiseration in the multitude, from a vulgar notion of their great sense and love to man, that it destroyed the

whole diversion of the show, and drew curses on Pompey himself, for being the author of so much cruelty¹¹. So true is it, what Cicero observes of this kind of prodigality, that there is no real dignity or lasting honor in it; that it satiates, while it pleases, and is forgotten, as soon as it is over¹². It gives us however a genuine Idea of the wealth and grandeur of these principal subjects of Rome; who, from their private revenues, could raise such noble buildings, and provide such shows, from the several quarters of the world, which no monarch on earth is now able to exhibit.

Cicero, contrary to his custom, was present at these shows, out of compliment to Pompey, and gives a particular account of them to his friend M. Marius, who could not be drawn by them from his books and retreat in the country. “The old actors,” says he, “who had left the stage, came on to it again, in honor to Pompey; but for the sake of their own honor, ought rather to have staid away; our friend Æsopus appeared to be quite funk and worn out; so that all people seemed willing to grant him his quietus: for in attempting to raise his voice, where he had occasion to swear, his speech faltered and failed him. — In the other plays, the vast apparatus, and crowded machinery, which raised the admiration of the mob, spoiled the entertainment: six hundred mules, infinite treasures of plate, troops of horse and foot fighting on the stage. — The huntings

“ indeed were magnificent, but what pleasure to
“ a man of taste, to see a poor weak fellow torn
“ to pieces by a fierce beast; or a noble beast
“ struck dead with a spear: the last day’s show
“ of Elephants, instead of delight, raised a ge-
“ neral compassion, and an opinion of some re-
“ lation between that animal and man: but lest
“ you should think me wholly happy, in these
“ days of diversion, I have almost burst myself
“ in the defence of your friend Gallus Caninius:
“ if the City would be as kind to me, as they
“ are to Æsopus, I would willingly quit the
“ stage, to live with you, and such as you, in a
“ polite and liberal ease¹¹³. ”

The City continued for a great part of this summer without it’s annual Magistrates: for the elections, which had been postponed from the last year, were still kept off by the Consuls, till they could settle them to their minds, and secure them to their own Creatures: which they effected at last, except in the case of two Tribunes, who slipped into the office against their will: but the most remarkable repulse was, of M. Cato from the Prætorship, which was given to Vatinius; from the best Citizen, to the worst. Cato, upon his return from the Cyprian voyage, was complimented by the Senate for that service with the offer of the Prætorship, in an extraordinary manner¹¹⁴. But he declined the compliment, thinking it more agreeable to his character to obtain it in the ordinary way, by the free choice of the people: but when the election came on, in which

he was thought sure of success, Pompey broke up the assembly, on pretence of somewhat inauspicious in the heavens, and, by intrigue and management, got Vatinius declared Prætor, who had been repulsed the year before with disgrace from the Ædileship¹¹⁵: but this being carried by force of money, and likely to produce an impeachment of Vatinius, Afranius moved for a decree, that the Prætors should not be questioned for bribery after their election; which passed against the general humor of the Senate; with an exception only, of sixty days, in which they were to be considered as private men. The pretence for the decree was, that so much of the year being spent, the whole would pass without any Prætors at all, if a liberty of impeaching was allowed: from this moment, says Cicero, they have given the exclusion to Cato; and, being masters of all, resolve that all the world shall know it¹¹⁶.

Cicero's Palatine house, and the adjoining Portico of Catulus were now finished; and as he and his brother were the Curators likewise of the repairs of the Temple of Tullus¹¹⁷, so they seem to have provided some Inscriptions for these buildings in honor and memory of themselves: but since no public Inscriptions could be set up, unless by public authority, they were apprehensive of an opposition from Clodius. Cicero mentioned the case to Pompey, who promised his assistance, but advised him to talk also with Crassus, which he took occasion to do, as he attended him home one day from the Senate. Crassus

readily undertook the affair, and told him, that Clodius had a point to carry for himself, by Pompey's help and his, and that if Cicero would not oppose Clodius, he was persuaded that Clodius would not disturb him; to which Cicero consented. Clodius's business was to procure one of those free or honorary Lieutenancies, that he might go with a public character to Byzantium, and King Brogitarus, to gather the money, which they owed him for past services. As it is a mere money matter, says Cicero, I shall not concern myself about it, whether I gain my own point or not, though Pompey and Crassus have jointly undertaken it; but he seems to have obtained what he desired, since, besides the intended Inscriptions, he mentions a statue also of his Brother, which he had actually erected at the Temple of Tellus¹¹⁸.

Trebonius, one of the Tribunes, in the interest of the Triumvirate, published a law, for the assignment of Provinces to the Consuls for the term of five years: to Pompey, Spain and Africa; to Crassus, Syria, and the Parthian war, with a power of raising what forces they thought fit: and that Cæsar's commission should be renewed also for five years more. The law was opposed by the generality of the Senate; and, above all, by Cato, Favonius, and two of the Tribunes, C. Ateius Capito and P. Aquilius Gallus: but the superior force of the Consuls and the other Tribunes prevailed, and cleared the Forum by violence of all their opponents.

The law no sooner passed, than Crassus began

to prepare for his Eastern expedition; and was in such haste to set forward, that he left Rome above two months before the expiration of his Consulship: his eagerness to involve the Republic in a desperate war, for which the Parthians had given no pretext, was generally detested by the City: the Tribune Ateius declared it impious, and prohibited by all the auspices; and denounced direful imprecations against it; but finding Crassus determined to march in defiance of all religion, he waited for him at the gates of the City, and having dressed up a little altar, stood ready with a fire and sacrifice to devote him to destruction¹¹⁹. Ateius was afterwards turned out of the Senate by Appius, when he was Censor, for falsifying the auspices on this occasion; but the miserable fate of Crassus supported the credit of them; and confirmed the vulgar opinion of the inevitable force of those ancient rites, in drawing down the divine vengeance on all, who presumed to condemn them¹²⁰. Appius was one of the Augurs: and the only one of the College, who maintained the truth of their auguries, and the reality of divination; for which he was laughed at by the rest; who charged him also with an absurdity, in the reason, which he subscribed, for his Censure upon Ateius, viz. that he had falsified the auspices, and brought a great calamity on the Roman people: for if the auspices, they said, were false, they could not possibly have any effect, or be the cause of that calamity¹²¹. But though they were undoubtedly forged, it is certain, however, that they had a real influence

on the overthrow of Crassus: for the terror of them had deeply possessed the minds of the soldiers, and made them turn every thing which they saw, or heard, to an omen of their ruin; so that when the enemy appeared in fight, they were struck with such a panic, that they had not courage or spirit enough left to make a tolerable resistance.

Crassus was desirous, before he left Rome, to be reconciled to Cicero: they had never been real friends, but generally opposite in party; and Cicero's early engagements with Pompey kept him of course at a distance from Crassus: their coldness was still increased on account of Catiline's plot, of which Crassus was strongly suspected; and charged Cicero with being the author of that suspicion: they carried it, however, on both sides with much decency: out of regard to Crassus's son, Publius, a professed admirer and disciple of Cicero; till an accidental debate in the Senate blew up their secret grudge into an open quarrel. The debate was upon Gabinus, whom Crassus undertook to defend, with many severe reflections upon Cicero; who replied with no less acrimony, and gave a free vent to that old resentment of Crassus's many injuries, which had been gathering, he says, several years, but lain dormant so long, that he took it to be extinguished, till, from this accident, it burst out into a flame. The quarrel gave great joy to the chiefs of the Senate; who highly applauded Cicero, in hopes to embroil him with the Triumvirate: but Pompey labored hard to make it up, and Cæsar also

by letter expressed his uneasiness upon it; and begged it of Cicero, as a favor, to be reconciled with Crassus: so that he could not hold out against an intercession so powerful, and so well enforced by his affection to young Crassus: their reconciliation was confirmed by mutual professions of a sincere friendship for the future; and Crassus, to give a public testimony of it to the City, invited himself, just before his departure, to sup with Cicero; who entertained him in the gardens of his son-in-law, Crassipes¹²². These gardens were upon the banks of the Tiber, and seem to have been famous for their beauty and situation¹²³: and are the only proof, which we meet with, of the splendid fortunes and condition of Crassipes.

Cicero spent a great part of the summer in the country, in study and retreat; pleased, he says, that he was out of the way of those squabbles, where he must either have defended what he did not approve, or deserted the man whom he ought not to forsake¹²⁴. In this retirement, he put the last hand to his Piece, on the complete Orator, which he sent to Atticus, and promises also to send to Lentulus; telling him, that he had intermitted his old task of orations, and betaken himself to the milder and gentler studies; in which he had finished, to his satisfaction, three books, by way of dialogue, on the subject of the Orator, in Aristotle's manner; which would be of use to his son, young Lentulus, being drawn, not in the ordinary way of the schools, and the dry method of precepts; but

comprehending all that the ancients, and especially Aristotle and Isocrates, had taught on the Institution of an Orator¹²⁵.

The three books contain as many Dialogues, upon the character and Idea of the perfect Orator: the principal speakers were P. Crassus, and M. Antonius; persons of the first dignity in the Republic, and the greatest Masters of Eloquence, which Rome had then known: they were near forty years older than Cicero, and the first Romans who could pretend to dispute the prize of Oratory with the Greeks; and who carried the Latin tongue to a degree of perfection, which left little or no room for any farther improvement¹²⁶. The disputation was undertaken at the desire, and for the instruction of two young Orators of great hopes, C. Cotta and P. Sulpicius, who were then beginning to flourish at the Bar: Cicero himself was not present at it, but being informed by Cotta, of the principal heads and general argument of the whole, supplied the rest from his own invention, agreeably to the different style and manner, which those great men were known to pursue; and with design to do honor to the memory of them both, but especially of Crassus, who had been the director of his early studies; and to whom he assigns the defence of that notion, which he himself always entertained, of the character of a consummate Speaker¹²⁷.

Atticus was exceedingly pleased with this treatise, and commended it to the skies; but objected to the propriety of dismissing Scævola from the disputation, after he had once been introduced into
the

the first dialogue. Cicero defends himself by the example of their God, Plato as he calls him, in his book on Government; where the Scene being laid in the house of an old Gentleman, Cephalus, the old man, after bearing a part in the first conversation, excuses himself, that he must go to prayers, and returns no more; Plato not thinking it suitable to the character of his age, to be detained in the Company through so long a discourse: that, with greater reason therefore, he had used the same caution in the case of Scævola; since it was not decent to suppose a person of his dignity, extreme age, and infirm health, spending several days successively in another man's house: that the first day's dialogue related to his particular profession, but the other two turned chiefly on the rules and precepts of the art, where it was not proper for one of Scævola's temper and character to assist only as a hearer¹²⁸. This admirable work remains entire, a standing monument of Cicero's parts and abilities; which, while it exhibits to us the Idea of a perfect Orator, and marks out the way, by which Cicero formed himself to that character, it explains the reason likewise why nobody has since equalled him, or ever will, till there be found again united, what will hardly be found single in any man, the same industry, and the same parts.

Cicero returned to Rome, about the middle of November, to assist at Milo's wedding, who married Fausta, a rich and noble Lady, the daughter of Sylla the Dictator¹²⁹; with whom,

as some writers say, he found Sallust the Historian in bed not long after, and had him soundly lashed, before he dismissed him. The Consuls, Pompey and Crassus, having reaped all the fruit, which they had proposed from the Consulship, of securing to themselves the Provinces, which they wanted, were not much concerned about the choice of their successors; so that after postponing the election to the end of the year, they gave way at last to their enemy, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus; being content to have joined with him their friend, Appius Claudius Pulcher.

A. Urb. 699.

Cic. 53.

Coff.

L. DOMITI-
US AHENO-
BARBUS,

A. CLAUDI-
US PUL-
CHER.

As soon as the new year came on, Crassus's enemies began to attack him in the Senate: their design was to revoke his commission, or abridge it at least of the power of making war upon the Parthians: but Cicero exerted himself so strenuously in his defence, that he baffled their attempts, after a warm contest with the Consuls themselves, and several of the Consular Senators. He gave Crassus an account of the debate by letter, in which he tells him, that he had given proof, not only to his friends and family, but to the whole City, of the sincerity of his reconciliation; and assures him of his resolution to serve him, with all his pains, advice, authority, and interest, in every thing, great or small, which concerned himself, his friends, or clients; and bids him look upon that Letter as a league of amity, which on his part should be inviolably observed¹³⁰.

The month of February being generally employed in giving audience to foreign Princes and

Ambassadors, Antiochus, King of Comagene, a territory on the banks of the Euphrates¹¹¹, preferred a petition to the Senate for some new honor or privilege, which was commonly decreed to Princes in alliance with the Republic: but Cicero being in a rallying humor, made the petition so ridiculous, that the house rejected it, and at his motion, reserved likewise out of his jurisdiction one of his principal Towns, Zeugma; in which was the chief bridge and passage over the Euphrates. Cæsar, in his Consulship, had granted to this King the honor of the Prætexta, or the robe of the Roman Magistrates; which was always disagreeable to the nobility, who did not care to see these petty Princes put upon the same rank with themselves; so that Cicero, calling out upon the nobles, will you, says he, who refused the Prætexta to the King of Bosra, suffer this Comagenian to strut in purple! But this disappointment was not more mortifying to the King, than it was to the Consuls, whose best perquisites were drawn from these compliments, which were always repaid by rich presents; so that Appius, who had been lately reconciled to Cicero, and paid a particular court to him at this time, applied to him by Atticus, and their common friends, to suffer the petitions of this sort to pass quietly, nor destroy the usual harvest of the month, and make it quite barren to him¹¹².

Cicero made an excursion this spring to visit his several seats and estates in the country; and, in his Cuman Villa, began a Treatise on politics;

or on the best state of a City, and the duties of a Citizen: he calls it a great and laborious work, yet worthy of his pains, if he could succeed in it; if not, I shall throw it, says he, into that sea, which is now before me, and attempt something else, since it is impossible for me to be idle. It was drawn up in the form of a dialogue, in which the greatest persons of the old Republic were introduced, debating on the origin and best constitution of government; Scipio, Lælius, Philus, Manilius, &c. The whole was to be distributed into nine books, each of them the subject of one day's disputation: when he had finished the two first, they were read in his Tusculan Villa to some of his friends; where Sallust, who was one of the company, advised him to change his plan, and treat the subject in his own person, as Aristotle had done before him; alledging, that the introduction of those ancients, instead of adding gravity, gave an air of Romance to the argument, which would have the greater weight, when delivered from himself; as being the work, not of a little Sophist, or contemplative Theorist, but of a Consular Senator, and Statesman, conversant in the greatest affairs, and writing what his own practice, and the experience of many years, had taught him to be true. These reasons seemed very plausible, and made him think of altering his scheme; especially since, by throwing the scene so far back, he precluded himself from touching on those important revolutions of the Republic, which were later than the period, to which he confined him-

self: but, after some deliberation, being unwilling to throw away the two books, already finished, with which he was much pleased, he resolved to stick to the old plan, and as he had preferred it from the first, for the sake of avoiding offence, so he pursued it without any other alteration, than that of reducing the number of books from nine to six; in which form they were afterwards published, and survived him for several ages, though now unfortunately lost¹³⁴.

From the fragments of this work, which still remain, it appears to have been a noble performance, and one of his capital pieces; where all the important questions in politics and morality were discussed with the greatest elegance and accuracy; of the origin of Society; the nature of law and obligation; the eternal difference of right and wrong; of justice being the only good policy, or foundation either of public or private prosperity: so that he calls his six books, so many pledges, given to the public, for the integrity of his conduct¹³⁵. The younger Scipio was the principal speaker of the Dialogue, whose part it was to assert the excellence of the Roman constitution, preferably to that of all other states¹³⁶: who, in the sixth book, under the fiction of a dream, which is still preserved to us, takes occasion to inculcate the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and a future state, in a manner so lively and entertaining, that it has been the standing pattern ever since to the wits of succeeding ages, for attempting the same method of

instilling moral lessons, in the form of dreams or visions.

He was now drawn at last into a particular intimacy and correspondence of Letters with Cæsar; who had long been endeavouring to engage him to his friendship, and with that view, had invited his brother, Quintus, to be one of his Lieutenants in Gaul; where Quintus, to pay his court the better to his General, joined heartily in pressing his Brother to an union with him, instead of adhering so obstinately to Pompey, who, as he tells him, was neither so sincere, nor so generous a friend as Cæsar¹³⁷. Cicero did not dislike the advice, and expressed a readiness to comply with it, of which Balbus gave an intimation to Cæsar, with a Letter, also inclosed, from Cicero himself; but the packet happening to fall into water, the Letters were all destroyed, except a scrap or two of Balbus's, to which Cæsar returned answer; I perceive, that you had written somewhat about Cicero, which I could not make out; but as far as I can guess, it was something rather to be wished, than hoped for¹³⁸. But Cicero sent another copy of the same Letter, which came safe to his hands, written, as he says, in the familiar style, yet without departing from his dignity. Cæsar answered him with all imaginable kindness, and the offer of every thing, in which his power could serve him, telling him, how agreeable his Brother's company was to him, by the revival of their old affection; and since he was now removed to such a distance from him, he would

take care, that in their mutual want of each other, he should have cause at least to rejoice, that his Brother was with him rather than any one else. He thanks him also for sending the Lawyer Trebatius to him, and says upon it jocosely, that there was not a man before in his army, who knew how to draw a recognisance. Cicero, in his account of this Letter to his Brother, says; "it is kind in you, and like a Brother, to press me to this friendship, though I am running that way apace myself, and shall do, what often happens to travellers, who rising later than they intended, yet, by quickening their speed, come sooner to their journey's end, than if they had set out earlier; so I, who have over-slept myself in my observance of this man, though you were frequently rousing me, will correct my past laziness by mending my pace for the future." —

But as to his seeking any advantage or personal benefit from this alliance, believe me, says he, you who know me; I have from him already what I most value, the assurance of his affection, which I prefer to all the great things that he offers me — ¹³⁹. In another letter he says; I lay no great stress on his promises, want no farther honors, nor desire any new glory, and wish nothing more, but the continuance of his esteem, yet live still in such a course of ambition and fatigue, as if I were expecting what I do not really desire ¹⁴⁰.

But though he made no use of Cæsar's generosity for himself, yet he used it freely for his friends; for

besides his Brother, who was Cæsar's Lieutenant, and Trebatius, who was his Lawyer; he procured an eminent post for Orfius, and a Regiment for Curtius; yet Cæsar was chiding him all the while for his reservedness in asking¹⁴¹. His recommendatory Letter of Trebatius, will show both what a share he possessed at this time of Cæsar's confidence, and with what an affectionate zeal he used to recommend his friends,

“ Cicero to Cæsar Emperor.

“ See, how I have persuaded myself to consider
“ you as a second self; not only in what affects
“ my own interest, but in what concerns my
“ friends: I had resolved, whithersoever I went
“ abroad, to carry C. Trebatius along with me;
“ that I might bring him home, adorned with
“ the fruits of my care and kindness: but since
“ Pompey's stay in Rome has been longer than I
“ expected, and my own irresolution, to which
“ you are no stranger, will either wholly hinder,
“ or at least retard, my going abroad at all; see,
“ what I have taken upon myself; I began presently
“ to resolve, that Trebatius should expect the
“ same things from you, which he had been
“ hoping for from me; nor did I assure him with
“ less frankness of your good will, than I used to
“ do of my own: but a wonderful incident fell
“ out, both as a testimony of my opinion, and
“ a pledge of your humanity; for while I was
“ talking of this very Trebatius at my house, with

“ our friend Balbus, your Letter was delivered
“ to me; in the end of which you said; as to
“ M. Orfius, whom you recommended to me, I
“ will make him even King of Gaul, or Lieutenant
“ to Lepta; send me another therefore, if you
“ please, whom I may prefer. We lifted up our
“ hands, both I and Balbus; the occasion was so
“ pat, that it seemed not to be accidental, but
“ divine. I send you therefore Trebatius; and
“ send him so, as at first indeed I designed, of
“ my own accord, but now also by your invita-
“ tion: embrace him, my dear Cæsar, with all
“ your usual courtesy; and whatever you could
“ be induced to do for my friends, out of your
“ regard to me, confer it all singly upon him. I
“ will be answerable for the man; not in my
“ former style, which you justly rallied, when I
“ wrote to you about Milo, but in the true
“ Roman phrase, which men of sense use; that
“ there is not an honest, worthier, modest man
“ living: I must add, what makes the principal
“ part of his character, that he has a singular
“ memory, and perfect knowledge of the civil
“ Law. I ask for him, neither a Regiment nor
“ Government, nor any certain piece of prefer-
“ ment; I ask your benevolence and generosity;
“ yet am not against the adorning him, whenever
“ you shall think proper, with those trappings
“ also of glory: in short, I deliver the whole man
“ to you, from my hand, as we say, into yours,
“ illustrious for victory and faith. But I am more
“ importunate than I need be to you; yet I

“ know you will excuse it. Take care of your
“ health, and continue to love me, as you now
“ do ¹⁴². ”

Trebatius was of a lazy, indolent, studious temper; a lover of books and good company; eagerly fond of the pleasures of Rome; and wholly out of his element in a Camp; and because Cæsar, through the infinite hurry of his affairs, could not presently admit him to his familiarity, and prefer him so soon as he expected, he was tired of the drudgery of attending him, and impatient to be at home again. Under these circumstances, there is a series of Letters to him from Cicero, written not only with the disinterested affection of a friend, but the solicitude even of a parent, employing all the arts of insinuation, as well of the grave, as of the facetious kind, to hinder him from ruining his hopes and fortunes by his own imprudence. “ He laughs at his childish hankering
“ after the City; bids him reflect on the end, for
“ which he went abroad, and pursue it with
“ constancy; observes from the Medea of Euripi-
“ des, that many had served themselves and the
“ public well, at a distance from their Country;
“ whilst others, by spending their lives at home,
“ had lived and died ingloriously; of which
“ number,” says he, “ you would have been
“ one, if we had not thrust you out; and since I
“ am now acting Medea, take this other lesson
“ from me, that he, who is not wise for himself,
“ is wise to no purpose ¹⁴³. ” He rallies his impa-
tience, or rather “ imprudence; as if he had

“ carried a bond, not a Letter to Cæsar, and
“ thought that he had nothing to do but to take
“ his money, and return home; not recollecting,
“ that even those, who followed King Ptolemy
“ with bonds to Alexandria, had not yet brought
“ back a penny of money ¹⁴⁴. You write me
“ word,” says he, “ that Cæsar now consults
“ you; I had rather hear, that he consults your
“ Interest ¹⁴⁵. Let me die, if I do not believe,
“ such is your vanity, that you had rather be
“ consulted, than enriched by him ¹⁴⁶.” By these
railleries and perpetual admonitions he made
Trebatius ashamed of his softness, and content to
stay with Cæsar, by whose favor and generosity
he was cured at last of all his uneasiness; and
having here laid the foundation of his fortunes,
flourished afterwards in the court of Augustus,
with the character of the most learned Lawyer of
that age ¹⁴⁷.

Cæsar was now upon his second expedition into
Britain; which raised much talk and expectation
at Rome, and gave Cicero no small concern for the
safety of his Brother, who, as one of Cæsar’s
Lieutenants, was to bear a considerable part in
it ¹⁴⁸. But the accounts which he received from
the place, soon eased him of his apprehensions,
by informing him, that there was nothing either
to fear or to hope from the attempt; no danger
from the people, no spoils from the Country ¹⁴⁹.
In a Letter to Atticus, we are in suspense, says
he, about the British war: it is certain, that the
access of the Island is strongly fortified; and it is

known also already, that there is not a grain of silver in it, nor any thing else but slaves; of whom you will scarce expect any, I dare say, skilled in music or Letters ¹⁵⁰. In another to Trebatius; I hear, that there is not either gold or silver in the Island: if so, you have nothing to do but to take one of their chariots, and fly back to us ¹⁵¹.

From their raileries of this kind on the barbarity and misery of our Island, one cannot help reflecting on the surprising fate and revolutions of Kingdoms: how Rome, once the mistress of the world, the seat of arts, empire and glory, now lies sunk in sloth, ignorance, and poverty; enslaved to the most cruel, as well as to the most contemptible of Tyrants, Superstition and religious imposture: while this remote Country, anciently the jest and contempt of the polite Romans, is become the happy seat of liberty, plenty, and letters; flourishing in all the arts and refinements of civil life; yet running perhaps the same course, which Rome itself had run before it; from virtuous industry to wealth; from wealth to luxury; from luxury to an impatience of discipline, and corruption of morals; till by a total degeneracy and loss of virtue, being grown ripe for destruction, it falls a prey at last to some hardy oppressor, and, with the loss of liberty, losing every thing else that is valuable, sinks gradually again into its original barbarism.

Cicero taking it for granted, that Trebatius followed Cæsar into Britain, began to joke with

him upon the wonderful figure that a British Lawyer would make at Rome; and, as it was his profession to guard other people's safety, bids him beware that he himself was not caught by the British charioteers¹⁵². But Trebatius, it seems, knew how to take care of himself without Cicero's advice; and when Cæsar passed over to Britain, chose to stay behind in Gaul: this gave a fresh handle for raillery; and Cicero congratulates him, "upon being arrived at last into a country, "where he was thought to know something; "that if he had gone over also to Britain, there "would not have been a man in all that great "Island, wiser than himself. —" He observes, "that he was much more cautious in military, "than in civil contests; and wonders, that being "such a lover of swimming, he could not be "persuaded to swim in the Ocean; and when "he could not be kept away from every show "of Gladiators at Rome, had not the curiosity "to see the British charioteers: he rejoices "however, after all, that he did not go; since they "should not now be troubled with the impertinence of his British stories¹⁵³.

Quintus Cicero, who had a genius for poetry, was projecting the plan of a poem, upon their British expedition, and begged his Brother's assistance in it: Cicero approved the design, and observed upon it, that the nature and situation of places so strange, the manners of the people, their battles with them, and the General himself Cæsar, were excellent subjects for poetry; but as to his

assistance, it was sending owls to Athens : that Quintus, who had finished four Tragedies in sixteen days, could not want either help or fame in that way, after his *Electra* and the *Troades* ¹⁴. In other letters, he answers more seriously ; that it was impossible to conceive, how much he wanted leisure for versifying : that to write verses required an ease and cheerfulness of mind, which the times had taken from him ; and that his poetical flame was quite extinguished by the sad prospect of things before them ¹⁵.

He had sent Cæsar his Greek Poem, in three books, on the history of his Consulship ; and Cæsar's judgment upon it was, that the beginning of it was as good as any thing, which he had ever seen in that language, but that the following lines, to a certain place, were not equal in accuracy and spirit. Cicero desires therefore to know of his Brother, what Cæsar really thought of the whole ; whether the matter or the style displeased him ; and begs that he would tell him the truth freely ; since whether Cæsar liked it or not, he should not, he says, be a jot the less pleased with himself ¹⁶. He began, however, another Poem, at his Brother's earnest request, to be addressed to Cæsar, but after some progress was so dissatisfied with it, that he tore it ¹⁷ : yet Quintus still urging, and signifying, that he had acquainted Cæsar with the design, he was obliged to resume it, and actually finished an Epic Poem in honor of Cæsar ; which he promises to send as soon as he could find a proper conveyance, that it might not be lost, as Quintus's Tragedy

of Erigone was in coming from Gaul ; the only thing , says he , which had not found a safe passage , since Cæsar governed that Province ¹⁵⁸.

While Cicero was expressing no small dissatisfaction at the measures , which his present situation obliged him to pursue , Cæsar was doing every thing in his power , to make him easy : he treated his Brother with as much kindness , as if Cicero himself had been his General ; gave him the choice of his winter-quarters , and the Legion , which he best liked ¹⁵⁹ : and Clodius happening to write to him from Rome , he showed the Letter to Quintus , and declared that he would not answer it ; though Quintus civilly pressed him not to put such an affront upon Clodius for their sakes ¹⁶⁰. In the midst of all his hurry in Britain , he sent frequent accounts to Cicero , in his own hand , of his progress and success , and , at the instant of quitting the island , wrote to him from the very shore , of the embarkment of the troops , and his having taken hostages , and imposed a Tribute : and lest he should be surprised at having no Letters at the same time from his Brother , he acquaints him , that Quintus was then at a distance from him , and could not take the benefit of that express : Cicero received all these Letters at Rome , in less than a month after date , and takes notice in one of them , that it arrived on the twentieth day ; a dispatch equal to that of our present Couriers by the post ¹⁶¹.

As to the news of the City this summer , Cicero tells his Brother , “ that there were some hopes of an election of Magistrates , but those uncertain ;

“ some suspicion of a Dictator , yet that not
 “ more certain ; a great calm in the Forum ; but
 “ of a City , seemed to be quieted rather by the
 “ effects of age , than of concord : that his own
 “ conduct , as well in public , as in private , was
 “ just what Quintus had advised , softer than
 “ the tip of his ear ; and his votes in the
 “ Senate such , as pleased others , rather than
 “ himself.

“ Such ills does wretched war and discord breed ,
 “ that bribery was never carried so high , as at
 “ this time , by the Consular candidates , Memmius ,
 “ Domitius , Scaurus , Messala , that they were
 “ all alike ; no eminence in any , for money
 “ levelled the dignity of them all : that above
 “ eighty thousand pounds was promised to the
 “ first Tribe , and money grown so scarce , by
 “ this profusion of it , that interest was risen from
 “ four to eight per Cent ¹⁶². ”

Memmius and Cn. Domitius , who joined
 their interests , made a strange sort of contract
 with the Consuls , which was drawn up in writ-
 ing , and attested in proper form by many of
 their friends on both sides ; by which , “ the
 “ Consuls obliged themselves , to serve them
 “ with all their power in the ensuing election ;
 “ and they on their part undertook , when elected ,
 “ to procure for the Consuls what Provinces they
 “ desired ; and gave a Bond of above 3000 l.
 “ to provide three Augurs , who should testify ,
 “ that they were present at making a law
 “ for granting them those Provinces , when
 no

“no such law had ever been made; and two
 “Consular Senators, who should affirm, that
 “they were present likewise at passing a decree
 “of the Senate, for furnishing the same provinces
 “with arms and money, when the Senate had
 “never been consulted about it ¹⁶³.” Memmius,
 who was strongly supported by Cæsar ¹⁶⁴, finding
 some reason to dislike his bargain, resolved to
 break it, and, by Pompey’s advice, gave an
 account of it to the Senate. Pompey was pleased
 with the opportunity of mortifying the Consul
 Domitius; and willing likewise to take some
 revenge on Appius, who, though his near relation,
 did not enter so fully as he expected into his
 measures ¹⁶⁵: but Cæsar was much out of humor
 at this step ¹⁶⁶; as it was likely to raise great
 scandal in the City, and strengthen the interest
 of those who were endeavouring to restrain that
 infamous corruption, which was the main instrument
 of advancing his power. Appius never changed
 countenance, nor lost any credit by the discovery,
 but his colleague Domitius, who affected the
 character of a Patriot, was extremely discomposed;
 and Memmius, now grown desperate, resolved
 to promote the general disorder and the creation
 of a Dictator ¹⁶⁷.

Quintus sent his Brother word from Gaul, that
 it was reported there, that he was present at this
 contract: but Cicero assures him that it was false,
 and that the bargain was of such a nature, as
 Memmius had opened it to the Senate, that no
 honest man could have been present at it ¹⁶⁸ The



Senate was highly incensed ; and to check the insolence of the parties concerned , passed a decree , that their conduct should be inquired into by what they called a private or silent judgment ; where the Sentence was not to be declared till after the election , yet so , as to make void the election of those who should be found guilty : this they resolved to execute with rigor , and made an allotment of Judges for that purpose : but some of the Tribunes were prevailed with to interpose their negative , on pretence of hindering all inquisitions , not specially authorized by the people ¹⁶⁹.

This detestable bargain of forging laws and decrees at pleasure , in which so many of the first rank were concerned , either as Principals or witnesses , is alledged by an ingenious French writer , as a flagrant instance of that Libertinism , which hastened the destruction of Rome ¹⁷⁰. So far are private vices from being public benefits , that this great Republic , of all others the most free and flourishing , owed the loss of its Liberty to nothing else but a general defection of its Citizens , from the probity and discipline of their ancestors. Cicero often foretels their approaching ruin from this very cause ; and , when he bewails the wretchedness of the times , usually joins the wickedness of their morals , as the genuine source of it ¹⁷¹.

But lest these corrupt Candidates should escape without punishment , they were all publicly impeached by different Prosecutors , and the City was now in a great ferment about them ; since , as Cicero says , either the men or the law must



necessarily perish : yet they will all , says he , be acquitted ; for trials are now managed so corruptly , that no man will ever be condemned for the future , unless for murder ¹⁷². But Q. Scævola , one of the Tribunes , took a more effectual way to mortify them , by resolving to hinder any election of Consuls during his Magistracy ; in which he persevered , and by his authority dissolved all the assemblies , convened for that purpose ¹⁷³. The Tribunician Candidates, however, were remarkably modest this year : for they made an agreement among themselves , which they all confirmed by an oath , “ that in prosecuting their several
“ interests , they would submit their conduct to
“ the judgment of Cato , and deposit four thou-
“ sand pounds a piece in his hands , to be forfeited
“ by those , whom he should condemn of any
“ irregular practice. If the election proves free ,
“ says Cicero , as it is thought it will , Cato alone
“ can do more than all the Laws and all the
“ Judges ¹⁷⁴. ”

A great part of this year was taken up in public trials : Suffenas and C. Cato , who had been Tribunes two years before , were tried in the beginning of July , for violence and breach of peace in their Magistracy , and both acquitted : but Procilius , one of their Colleagues , “ was con-
“ demned for killing a Citizen in his own house :
“ whence we are to collect , says Cicero , that our
“ Areopagites value neither bribery nor elections ,
“ nor interregnums , nor attempts against the State ,
“ nor the whole Republic , a rush : we must not

“ murder a man indeed in his own house,
“ though that perhaps might be done moderately,
“ since twenty-two acquitted Procilius, when
“ twenty-eight condemned him ¹⁷⁵”. Clodius
was the accuser in these impeachments : which
made Cato, as soon as he was acquitted, seek a
reconciliation with Cicero and Milo ¹⁷⁶. It was
not Cicero’s business to reject the friendship of an
active and popular Senator; and Milo had occasion
for his service in his approaching suit for the
Consulship. But though Cicero had no concern in
these trials, he was continually employed in others,
through the rest of the summer : “ I was never,”
says he, “ more busy in trials than now ; in the
“ worst season of the year, and the greatest heats,
“ that we have ever known ; there scarce passes a
“ day in which I do not defend some ¹⁷⁷.” Besides
his Clients in the City, he had several towns and
colonies under his patronage, which sometimes
wanted his help abroad, as the corporation of
Reate did now, to plead for them before the
Consul Appius, and ten Commissioners, in a
controversy with their neighbours of Interamna,
about draining the lake Velinus into the River
Nar, to the damage of their grounds. He returned
from this cause in the midst of the Apollinarian
shows ; and, to relieve himself from the fatigue of
his journey, went directly to the Theatre, where
he was received by an universal clap : in the
account of which to Atticus, he adds, “ but this
you are not to take notice of, and I am a fool
indeed myself for mentioning it ¹⁷⁸.”

He now also defended Messius, one of Cæsar's Lieutenants, who came from Gaul on purpose to take his trial: then Drusus, accused of prevaricating or betraying a cause, which he had undertaken to defend; of which he was acquitted by a majority only of four voices. After that Vatinius, the last year's Prætor, and Æmilius Scaurus, one of the Consular Candidates, accused of plundering the Province of Sardinia¹⁷⁹; and about the same time likewise his old friend, Cn. Plancius; who had entertained him so generously in his exile, and being now chosen Ædile, was accused by a disappointed Competitor, M. Laterensis, of bribery and corruption. All these were acquitted, but the Orations for them are lost, except that for Plancius; which remains a perpetual monument of Cicero's gratitude: for Plancius having obtained the Tribunate from the people, as the reward of his fidelity to Cicero, did not behave himself in that post, with the same affection to him as before, but seems studiously to have slighted him; while several of his Colleagues, and especially Racilius, were exerting all their power in the defence of his person and dignity¹⁸⁰. Yet Cicero freely undertook his cause, and as if no coldness had intervened, displayed the merit of his services in the most pathetic and affecting manner; and rescued him from the hands of a powerful accuser, and his own particular friend. "Drusus's trial
" was held in the morning; from which, after
" going home to write a few Letters, he was
" obliged to return to Vatinius's in the afternoon:"

which gives us a specimen of the hurry in which he generally lived, and of the little time which he had to spend upon his private affairs, or his studies; and though he was now carrying on several great works of the learned kind, "yet he had no other leisure, he tells us, for meditating and composing, but when he was taking a few turns in his gardens, for the exercise of his body: and refreshment of his voice"¹⁸¹. Vatinus had been one of his fiercest enemies; was in a perpetual opposition to him in politics; and, like Bestia mentioned above, a seditious, profligate, abandoned Libertine: so that the defence of him gave a plausible handle for some censure upon Cicero: but his engagements with Pompey, and especially his new friendship with Cæsar, made it necessary to embrace all Cæsar's friends; among whom Vatinus was most warmly recommended to him.

Gabinus being recalled, as has been said, from his government, returned to Rome about the end of September: he bragged every where on his journey, that he was going to the demand of a triumph; and to carry on that farce, continued a while without the gates; till perceiving how odious he was to all within, he stole privately into the City by night, to avoid the disgrace of being insulted by the populace"¹⁸². There were three different impeachments provided against him: the first, for treasonable practices against the state; the second, for the plunder of his province; the third, for bribery and corruption; and so many persons offered themselves to be prosecutors, that there was a contest among them before the Præ-

tor, how to adjust their several claims". The first indictment fell to L. Lentulus, who accused him the day after he entered the city, "that, in defiance of religion and the decree of the Senate, he had restored the King of Ægypt with an army, leaving his own Province naked, and open to the incursion of enemies, who had made great devastations in it." Cicero, who had received from Gabinius all the provocation, which one man could receive from another, had the pleasure to see his insolent adversary at his feet; and was prepared to give him such a reception, as he deserved: but Gabinius durst not venture to show his head for the first ten days, till he was obliged to come to the Senate, in order to give them an account, according to custom, of the state of his Province, and the troops which he had left in it. As soon as he had told his story, he was going to retire, but the Consuls detained him to answer to a complaint brought against him by the Publicans, or Farmers of the revenues, who were attending at the door to make it good. This drew on a debate, in which Gabinius was so urged and teased on all sides, but especially by Cicero, that, trembling with passion, and unable to contain himself, he called Cicero a banished man: upon which, says Cicero, in a Letter to his Brother, "nothing ever happened more honorable to me: the whole Senate left their seats to a man, and with a general clamor ran up to his very face; while the Publicans also were equally fierce

“ and clamorous against him , and the whole
“ company behaved just as you yourself would
“ have done¹⁸⁴ .

Cicero had been deliberating for some time , whether he should not accuse Gabinius himself ; but out of regard to Pompey , was content to appear only as a witness against him¹⁸⁵ ; and when the trial was over , gives the following account of it to his Brother.

“ Gabinius is acquitted : nothing was ever
“ so stupid , as his accuser Lentulus ; nothing so
“ fordid as the bench : yet if Pompey had not
“ taken incredible pains , and the rumor of a
“ Dictatorship had not infused some apprehen-
“ sions , he could not have held up his head
“ even against Lentulus : since with such an ac-
“ cuser , and such Judges , of the seventy-two ,
“ who sat upon him , thirty-two condemned
“ him. The sentence is so infamous , that he
“ seems likely to fall in the other trials , espe-
“ cially that of plunder ; but there is no Republic ,
“ no Senate , no Justice , no dignity in any of
“ us : what can I say more of the Judges ?
“ There were but two of them of Prætorian
“ rank , Domitius Calvinus , who acquitted him
“ so forwardly , that all the world might see it ;
“ and Cato , who as soon as the votes were de-
“ clared , ran officiously from the Bench , to carry
“ the first news to Pompey. Some say , and
“ particularly Sallust , that I ought to have ac-
“ cused him : but should I risk my credit with
“ such Judges ? What a figure should I have

“ made, if he had escaped from me. But there
“ were other things, which influenced me: Pom-
“ pey would have considered it as a struggle, not
“ about Gabinius’s safety, but his own dignity:
“ it must have made a breach between us: we
“ should have been matched like a pair of Gla-
“ diators; as Pacidianus, with Æfernius the
“ Samnite; he would probably have bit off one
“ of my ears, or been reconciled at least with
“ Clodius — for after all the pains, which I had
“ taken to serve him; when I owed nothing
“ to him, he every thing to me; yet he would
“ not bear my differing from him in public affairs,
“ to say no worse of it; and when he was less
“ powerful than he is at present, showed what
“ power he had against me, in my flourishing con-
“ dition; why should I now, when I have lost
“ even all desire of power; when the Republic
“ certainly has none; when he alone has all;
“ chuse him of all men to contend with? for that
“ must have been the case: I cannot think that
“ you would have advised me to it. Sallust says,
“ that I ought to have done either the one or
“ the other; and in compliment to Pompey have
“ defended him; who begged it of me indeed very
“ earnestly — A special friend this Sallust! to wish
“ me to involve myself either in a dangerous
“ enmity, or perpetual infamy. I am delighted
“ with my middle way; and when I had given
“ my testimony faithfully and religiously, was
“ pleased to hear Gabinius say, that if it should
“ be permitted to him to continue in the City,

“ he would make it his business to give me satisfaction ; nor did he so much as interrogate me — ¹⁸⁶.” He gives the same account of this trial to his other friends ; “ how Lentulus acted his part so ill, that people were persuaded that he prevaricated — and that Gabinius’s escape was owing to the indefatigable industry of Pompey, and the corruption of the Bench ¹⁸⁷.”

About the time of this trial there happened a terrible inundation of the Tiber, which did much damage at Rome : many houses and shops were carried away by it, and the fine gardens of Cicero’s son-in-law, Crassipes, demolished. It was all charged to the absolution of Gabinius, after his daring violation of Religion, and contempt of the Sybil’s books : Cicero applies to it the following passage of Homer ¹⁸⁸.

*As when in autumn Jove his fury pours ,
And earth is loaden with incessant showers ;
When guilty mortals break th’ eternal laws ,
And Judges brib’d betray the righteous cause ,
From their deep beds he bids the rivers rise ,
And opens all the flood-gates of the skies .*

Mr. Pope, Il. 16. v. 466.

But Gabinius’s danger was not yet over : he was to be tried a second time, for the plunder of his Province ; where C. Memmius, one of the Tribunes, was his Accuser, and M. Cato his Judge, with whom he was not likely to find any favor : Pompey pressed Cicero to defend him,

and would not admit of any excuse; and Gabinius's humble behaviour in the late trial was intended to make way for Pompey's sollicitation. Cicero stood firm for a long time: Pompey, says he, labors hard with me, but has yet made no impression, nor, if I retain a grain of liberty, ever will¹⁸⁹;

Oh! e'er that dire disgrace shall blast my fame,
O'erwhelm me earth ——— Il. 4. 218.

but Pompey's incessant importunity, backed by Cæsar's earnest request, made it vain to struggle any longer; and forced him against his judgment, his resolution and his dignity, to defend Gabinius; at a time when his defence at last proved of no service to him; for he was found guilty by Cato, and condemned of course to a perpetual banishment. It is probable, that Cicero's Oration was never published, but as it was his custom to keep the minutes or rough draught of all his pleadings, in what he called his Commentaries, which were extant many ages after his death¹⁹⁰; so St. Jerome has preserved from them a small fragment of this speech; which seems to be a part of the apology, that he found himself obliged to make for it; wherein he observes, "that when Pompey's authority had once reconciled him to Gabinius, it was no longer in his power to avoid defending him; for it was ever my persuasion," says he, "that all friendships should be maintained with a religious exactness; but

“ especially those, which happened to be renewed
“ from a quarrel : for in friendships, that have
“ suffered no interruption, a failure of duty is
“ easily excused by a plea of inadvertency, or,
“ at the worst, of negligence; whereas, if after a
“ reconciliation any new offence be given, it
“ never passes for negligent, but wilful; and is
“ not imputed to imprudence, but to perfidy.”

The proconsul, Lentulus, who resided still in Cilicia, having had an account from Rome, of Cicero's change of conduct, and his defence of Vatinius, wrote a sort of expostulatory Letter to him, to know the reasons of it; telling him, that he had heard of his reconciliation with Cæsar and Appius, for which he did not blame him; but was at a loss how to account for his new friendship with Crassus; and above all, what it was, that induced him to defend Vatinius. This gave occasion to that long and elaborate answer from Cicero, already referred to, written before Gabinius's trial; which would otherwise have made his apology more difficult, in which he lays open the motives and progress of his whole behaviour from the time of his exile — “ As to the case of Vatinius,
“ he says, as soon as he was chosen Prætor,
“ where I warmly opposed him in favor of Cato,
“ Pompey prevailed with me to be reconciled to
“ him; and Cæsar afterwards took surprising pains
“ with me to defend him; to which I consented,
“ for the sake of doing what, as I told the court
“ at the trial, the Parasite, in the Eunuch, advised
“ the Patron to do:

“ Whenever she talks of Phædria, do you presently praise Pamphila, &c. so I begged of the Judges, that since certain persons of distinguished rank, to whom I was much obliged, were so fond of my enemy, and affected to caress him in the Senate before my face, with all the marks of familiarity; and since they had their Publius to give me jealousy, I might be allowed to have my Publius also, to tease them with in my turn —.” Then as to his general conduct, he makes this general defence; that the union and firmness of the honest, which subsisted when Lentulus left Rome, confirmed,” says he, “ by my Consulship, and revived by yours, is now quite broken and deserted by those who ought to have supported it, and were looked upon as Patriots; for which reason, the maxims and measures of all wise Citizens, in which class I always wish to be ranked, ought to be changed too: for it is a precept of Plato, whose authority has the greatest weight with me, to contend in public affairs, as far as we can persuade our Citizens, but not to offer violence, either to our Parent or our Country — If I was quite free from all engagements, I should act therefore as I now do; should not think it prudent to contend with so great a power; nor if it could be effected, to extinguish it in our present circumstances; nor continue always in one mind, when the things themselves and the sentiments of the honest are altered; since a perpetual adherence to the same measures

“ has never been approved by those, who know
“ best how to govern estates : but, as in sailing,
“ it is the business of art to be directed by the
“ weather, and foolish to persevere with danger in
“ the course, in which we set out, rather than by
“ changing it, to arrive with safety, though later,
“ where we intended ; so to us, who manage
“ public affairs, the chief end proposed being
“ dignity with public quiet, our business is not
“ to be always saying, but always aiming at the
“ same thing. Wherefore if all things, as I
“ said, were wholly free to me, I should be the
“ same man that I now am : but when I am in-
“ vited to this conduct on the one side by kind-
“ nesses, and driven to it on the other by injuries,
“ I easily suffer myself to vote and act what I
“ take to be useful both to myself and the Re-
“ public ; and I do it the more freely, as well
“ on the account of my Brother’s being Cæsar’s
“ Lieutenant, as that there is not the least thing,
“ which I have ever said or done for Cæsar, but
“ what he has repaid with such eminent grati-
“ tude, as persuades me, that he takes himself
“ to be obliged to me ; so that I have as much
“ use of all his power and interest, which you
“ know to be the greatest, as if they were my
“ own : nor could I otherwise have defeated the
“ designs of my desperate enemies, if to those
“ forces which I have always been master of, I
“ had not joined the favor of the men of power.
“ Had you been here to advise me, I am per-
“ suaded, that I should have followed the same

“ measures : for I know your good nature and
“ moderation ; I know your heart , not only
“ the most friendly to me , but void of all ma-
“ levence to others ; great and noble , open
“ and sincere , &c. ¹⁹².” He often defends him-
self on other occasions by the same allusion to the
art of sailing : “ I cannot reckon it inconstancy,
“ says he , to change and moderate our opinion,
“ like the course of a ship , by the weather of
“ the Republic ; this is what I have learnt, have
“ observed , have read ; what the records of
“ former ages have delivered , of the wisest and
“ most eminent Citizens , both in this and all
“ other Cities ; that the same maxims are not
“ always to be pursued by the same men ; but
“ such , whatever they be , which the state of the
“ Republic , the inclination of the times , the
“ occasions of public peace require : this is what
“ I am now doing , and shall always do — ¹⁹³.”

The trial of C. Rabirius Posthumus , a person
of Equestrian rank , was an appendix to that of
Gabinus. It was one of the articles against Ga-
binus , that he had received about two millions
for restoring King Ptolemy , yet all his estate,
which was to be found , was not sufficient to an-
swer the damages in which he was condemned ;
nor could he give any security for the rest : in this
case , the method was to demand the deficiency
from those through whose hands the management
of his money - affairs had passed , and who were
supposed to have been sharers in the spoil : this
was charged upon Rabirius , and that he had

advised Gabinius to undertake the restoration of the king, and accompanied him in it, and was employed to solicit the payment of the money, and lived at Alexandria for that purpose, in the King's service, as the public Receiver of his taxes, and wearing the Pallium or habit of the country.

Cicero urged in defence of Rabirius, " that
" he had born no part in that transaction; but
" that his whole crime, or rather folly, was, that
" he had lent the King great sums of money
" for his support at Rome; and ventured to trust
" a prince, who, as all the world then thought,
" was going to be restored by the authority of
" the Roman people: that the necessity of going
" to Ægypt for the recovery of that debt, was
" the source of all his misery: where he was
" forced to take whatever the King would give
" or impose: that it was his misfortune to be
" obliged to commit himself to the power of an
" arbitrary Monarch: that nothing could be more
" mad than for a Roman Knight, and Citizen
" of a Republic of all others the most free, to
" go to any place, where he must needs be a
" slave to the will of another; that all who ever
" did so, as Plato and the wisest had sometimes
" done too hastily, always suffered for it; this
" was the case of Rabirius: necessity carried
" him to Alexandria; his whole fortunes were
" at stake ¹⁹⁴; which he was so far from im-
" proving by his traffic with that King, that he
" was ill treated by him, imprisoned, threatened
" with death, and glad to run away at last with
the

“ the loss of all: and at that very time, it was
“ wholly owing to Cæsar’s generosity, and re-
“ gard to the merit and misfortunes of an old
“ friend, that he was enabled to support his for-
“ mer rank and Equestrian dignity — ”¹⁹⁵.” Gabi-
nius’s trial had so near a relation to this, and
was so often referred to in it, that the Prose-
cutors could not omit so fair an opportunity of
rallying Cicero, for the part which he had acted in
it: Memmius observed, that the Deputies of Alex-
andria had the same reason for appearing for Gabi-
nius, which Cicero had for defending him, the
command of a master: — No, Memmius, replied Ci-
cero, my reason for defending him, was a reconci-
liation with him; for I am not ashamed to own,
that my quarrels are mortal, my friendships im-
mortal: and if you imagine, that I undertook that
cause for fear of Pompey, you neither know Pom-
pey, nor me; for Pompey would neither desire
it of me against my will, nor would I, after I
had preserved the liberty of my Citizens, ever
give up my own ¹⁹⁶.

Valerius Maximus reckons Cicero’s defence
of Gabinius and Vatinius, among the great and
laudable examples of humanity, which the Roman
History furnished; as it is nobler, he says, to con-
quer injuries with benefits, than to repay them in
kind, with an obstinacy of hatred ¹⁹⁷. This turn is
agreeable to the design of that writer, whose view
it seems to be, in the collection of his stories, to
give us rather what is strange, than true; and to
dress up facts as it were into fables, for the sake

of drawing a moral from them: for whatever Cicero himself might say for it, in the flourishing style of an oration, it is certain, that he knew and felt it to be, what it really was, an indignity and dishonor to him, which he was forced to submit to by the iniquity of the times, and his engagements with Pompey and Cæsar, as he often laments to his friends in a very passionate strain: I am afflicted, says he, my dearest Brother, I am afflicted, that there is no Republic, no Justice in trials; that this season of my life, which ought to flourish in the authority of the Senatorian character, is either wasted in the drudgery of the Bar, or relieved only by domestic studies; that what I have ever been fond of from a boy,

*In every virtuous act and glorious strife
To shine the first and best —*

is wholly lost and gone; that my enemies are partly not opposed, partly even defended by me; and neither what I love, nor what I hate, left free to me ¹⁹⁸.

While Cæsar was engaged in the British expedition, his Daughter Julia, Pompey's wife, died in child-bed at Rome, after she was delivered of a son, which died also soon after her. Her loss was not more lamented by the Husband and Father, who both of them tenderly loved her, than by all their common friends, and well-wishers to the public peace; who considered it as a source of fresh disturbance to the state, from the am-

bitious views and clashing interests of the Two Chiefs; whom the life of one so dear, and the relation of Son and Father seemed hitherto to have united by the ties both of duty and affection¹⁹⁹. Cæsar is said to have born the news of her death with an uncommon firmness²⁰⁰: It is certain, that she had lived long enough to serve all the ends, which he proposed from that alliance, and to procure for him every thing that Pompey's power could give: for while Pompey, forgetful of his honor and interest, was spending his time ingloriously at home, in the caresses of a young wife, and the delights of Italy; and, as if he had been only Cæsar's agent, was continually decreeing fresh honors, troops, and money to him; Cæsar was pursuing the direct road to Empire; training his Legions in all the toils and discipline of a bloody war; himself always at their head, animating them by his courage, and rewarding them by his bounty; till from a great and wealthy Province, having raised money enough to corrupt, and an army able to conquer all who could oppose him, he seemed to want nothing for the vast execution of his designs, but a pretext to break with Pompey, which, as all wise men foresaw, could not long be wanted, when Julia, the cement of their union, was removed. For though the power of the Triumvirate had given a dangerous blow to the liberty of Rome, yet the jealousies and separate interests of the Chiefs obliged them to manage it with some decency; and to extend it but rarely,

beyond the forms of the constitution; but whenever that league should happen to be dissolved, which had made them already too great for private subjects, the next contest of course must be for dominion, and the single mastery of the Empire.

On the second of November, C. Pontinius triumphed over the Allobroges, he had been Prætor, when Cicero was Consul; and at the end of his Magistracy obtained the government of that part of Gaul, which having been tampering with Catiline in his conspiracy, broke out soon afterwards into open Rebellion, but was reduced by the vigor of this General. For this service, he demanded a Triumph, but met with great opposition, which he surmounted with incredible patience: for he persevered in his suit for five years successively; residing all that while, according to custom, in the suburbs of the City, till he gained his point at last by a kind of violence. Cicero was his friend, and continued in Rome on purpose to assist him; and the Consul Appius served him with all his power; but Cato protested, that Pontinius should never triumph while he lived; though this, says Cicero, like many of his other threats, will end at last in nothing. But the Prætor Galba, who had been his Lieutenant, having procured by stratagem an act of the people in his favor, he entered the city in his triumphal Chariot, where he was so rudely received and opposed in his passage through the streets, that he was forced to make his way with his sword, and the slaughter of many of his adversaries²²¹.

In the end of the year, Cicero consented to be one of Pompey's Lieutenants in Spain; which he began to think convenient to the present state of his affairs, and resolved to set forward for that Province, about the middle of January ²⁰²: but this seemed to give some umbrage to Cæsar, who, by the help of Quintus, hoped to disengage him gradually from Pompey, and to attach him to himself; and with that view had begged of him in his Letters, to continue at Rome ²⁰³, for the sake of serving himself with his authority in all affairs which he had occasion to transact there; so that, out of regard probably to Cæsar's uneasiness, Cicero soon changed his mind, and resigned his lieutenancy: to which he seems to allude in a Letter to his Brother, where he says, that he had no second thoughts in whatever concerned Cæsar; that he would make good his engagements to him; and being entered into his friendship with judgment, was now attached to him by affection ²⁰⁴.

He was employed at Cæsar's desire along with Oppius, in settling the plan of a most expensive and magnificent work, which Cæsar was going to execute at Rome, out of the spoils of Gaul; a new Forum, with many grand buildings annexed to it; for the area of which alone, they had contracted to pay to the several owners, about five hundred thousand pounds; or, as Suetonius computes, near double that sum ²⁰⁵. Cicero calls it a glorious piece of work, and says, that the partitions, or enclosures of the Campus Martius, in which

the Tribes used to vote, were all to be made new of marble, with a roof likewise of the same, and a stately Portico carried round the whole, of a mile in Circuit, to which a public Hall or Town-house was to be joined²⁰⁶. While this building was going forward, L. Æmilius Paullus was employed in raising another, not much inferior to it, at his own expense: for he repaired and beautified an ancient Basilica in the old Forum; and built at the same time a new one with Phrygian columns, which was called after his own name; and is frequently mentioned by the later writers, as a Fabric of wonderful magnificence, computed to have cost him three hundred thousand pounds²⁰⁷.

A. Urb. 700.

Cic. 54.

The new Tribunes pursued the measures of their predecessors, and would not suffer an election of Consuls; so that when the new year came on, the Republic wanted its proper head: in this case the administration fell into the hands of an Interrex; a provisional Magistrate, who must necessarily be a Patrician, and chosen by the body of Patricians, called together for that purpose by the Senate²⁰⁸. His power however was but short-lived, being transferred, every five days, from one Interrex to another, till an election of Consuls could be obtained; but the Tribunes, whose authority was absolute, while there were no Consuls to control them, continued fierce against any election at all: some were for reviving the ancient dignity of military Tribunes; but that being unpopular, a more plausible Scheme was taken up and openly avowed, of declaring

Pompey Dictator. This gave great apprehensions to the City, for the memory of Sylla's Dictatorship; and was vigorously opposed by all the Chiefs of the Senate, and especially by Cato: Pompey chose to keep himself out of sight, and retired into the country, to avoid the suspicion of affecting it. "The rumor of a Dictatorship," says Cicero, "is disagreeable to the honest; but the other things, which they talk of, are more so to me; the whole affair is dreaded, but flags: Pompey flatly disclaims it, though he never denied it to me before: the Tribune Hirrus will probably be the promoter: good Gods! how silly and fond of himself without a rival? At Pompey's request, I have deterred Crassus Julianus, who pays great regard to me, from meddling with it. It is hard to know whether Pompey really desires it or not; but if Hirrus stir in it, he will not convince us, that he is averse to it²⁰." In another Letter; "Nothing is yet done as to the Dictatorship; Pompey is still absent; Appius in a great bustle; Hirrus preparing to propose it; but several are named as ready to interpose their negative: the people do not trouble their heads about it; the Chiefs are against it; I keep myself quiet²¹." Cicero's friend, Milo, was irresolute how to act on this occasion; he was forming an interest for the Consulship, and if he declared against a Dictatorship, was afraid of making Pompey his enemy; or if he should not help the opponents, that it would be carried by force; in both which cases, his own

pretensions were sure to be disappointed: he was inclined therefore to join in the opposition, but so far only as to repel any violence ²¹¹.

The Tribunes in the mean time were growing every day more and more insolent, and engrossing all power to themselves; till Q. Pompeius Rufus, the Grandson of Sylla, and the most factious espouser of a Dictator, was, by a resolute decree of the Senate, committed to prison: and Pompey himself, upon his return to the city, finding the greater and better part utterly averse to his Dictatorship, yielded, at last, after an Interregnum of six months, that Cn. Domitius Calvinus, and M. Messala, should be declared Consuls ²¹². These were agreeable likewise to Cæsar: Cicero had particularly recommended Messala to him; of whom, he says in a Letter to his Brother: As to your reckoning Messala and Calvinus sure Consuls, you agree with what we think here; for I will be answerable to Cæsar for Messala ²¹³.

A. Urb. 700.

Cic. 54.

Coff.

CN. DOMI-

TIUS CAL-

VINUS,

M. VALERI-

US MESSA-

LA.

But after all this Bustle about a Dictator, there seems to have been no great reason for being much afraid of it at this time: for the Republic was in so great a disorder, that nothing less than the Dictatorial power could reduce it to a tolerable state: some good of that kind might reasonably be expected from Pompey, without the fear of any great harm, while there was so sure a check upon him as Cæsar; who, upon any exorbitant use of that power, would have had the Senate and all the better sort on his side, by the specious pretence of asserting the public liberty:

Cicero therefore judged rightly, in thinking, that there were other things, which might be apprehended, and seemed likely to happen, that, in their present situation, were of more dangerous consequence than a Dictatorship.

There had scarce been so long an Interregnum in Rome, since the expulsion of their Kings; during which, all public business, and especially all judicial proceedings, were wholly interrupted: which explains a jocular passage in one of Cicero's Letters to Trebatius; if you had not already, says he, been absent from Rome, you would certainly have run away now: for what business is there for a Lawyer in so many Interregnums? I advise all my Clients, if sued in any action, to move every Interrex twice for more time: do not you think, that I have learnt the law of you to good purpose ²¹⁴?

He now began a correspondence of Letters with Curio, a young Senator of distinguished birth and parts, who upon his first entrance into the Forum had been committed to his care, and was at this time Quæstor in Asia. He was possessed of a large and splendid fortune, by the late death of his Father; so that Cicero, who knew his high spirit and ambition, and that he was formed to do much good or hurt to his country, was desirous to engage him early in the interests of the Republic; and by instilling great and generous sentiments, to inflame him with a love of true glory. Curio had sent orders to his agents at Rome, to proclaim a show of gladiators

in honor of his deceased Father: but Cicero stopt the declaration of it for a while, in hopes to dissuade him from so great and fruitless an expense²¹⁵. He foresaw, that nothing was more likely to corrupt his virtue than the ruin of his fortunes; or to make him a dangerous Citizen, than prodigality: to which he was naturally inclined, and which Cicero, for that reason, was the more desirous to check at his first setting out: but all his endeavours were to no purpose; Curio resolved to give the show of Gladiators; and by a continual profusion of his money, answerable to this beginning, after he had acted the Patriot for some time with credit and applause, was reduced at last to the necessity of selling himself to Cæsar.

There is but little of politics in these Letters, besides some general complaints, of the lost and desperate state of the Republic: in one of them, after reckoning up the various subjects of Epistolary writing; shall I joke with you then, says he, in my Letters? On my conscience, there is not a Citizen, I believe, who can laugh in these times: or shall I write something serious? But what can Cicero write seriously to Curio, unless it be on the Republic? where my case at present is such, that I have no inclination to write, what I do not think²¹⁶. — In another, after putting him in mind of the incredible expectation which was entertained of him at Rome; “not that I am afraid,” says he, “that your virtue should not come up to the opinion of the public; but rather, that you

“ find nothing worth caring for at your return;
“ all things are so ruined and oppressed; but I
“ question whether it be prudent to say so much
“ —It is your part, however, whether you retain
“ any hopes, or quite despair, to adorn yourself
“ with all those accomplishments, which can
“ qualify a Citizen, in wretched times and pro-
“ fligate morals, to restore the Republic to its
“ ancient dignity²¹⁷. ”

The first news from abroad after the inauguration of the Consuls, was of the miserable death of Crassus and his son Publius, with the total defeat of his army by the Parthians. This was one of the greatest blows that Rome had ever received from a foreign enemy, and for which it was ever after meditating revenge: the Roman writers generally imputed it to Crassus's contempt of the Auspices; as some Christians have since charged it, to his sacrilegious violation of the Temple of Jerusalem, which he is said to have plundered of two millions; both of them with equal Superstition pretending to unfold the counsels of heaven, and to fathom those depths, which are declared to be unsearchable²¹⁸. The chief and immediate concern, which the City felt on this occasion, was for the detriment that the Republic had suffered, and the danger to which it was exposed, by the loss of so great an army; yet the principal mischief lay in what they did not at first regard, and seemed rather to rejoice at, the loss of Crassus himself. For after the death of Julia, Crassus's authority was the only means left of

curbing the power of Pompey, and the ambition of Cæsar; being ready always to support the weaker, against the encroachments of the stronger; and keep them both within the bounds of a decent respect to the laws: but this check being now taken away, and the power of the Empire thrown, as a kind of prize, between two; it gave a new turn to their several pretensions; and created a fresh competition for the larger share; which, as the event afterwards showed, must necessarily end in the subversion of the whole.

Publius Crassus who perished with his Father in this fatal expedition, was a youth of an amiable character; educated with the strictest care, and perfectly instructed in all the liberal studies; he had ready wit and easy language; was grave without arrogance, modest without negligence, adorned with all the accomplishments proper to form a principal Citizen and Leader of the Republic: by the force of his own judgment he had devoted himself very early to the observance and imitation of Cicero, whom he perpetually attended, and revered with a kind of filial piety. Cicero conceived a mutual affection for him, and observing his eager thirst of glory, was constantly instilling into him the true notion of it, and exhorting him to pursue that sure path to it, which his ancestors had left beaten and traced out to him, through the gradual ascent of civil honors. But, by serving under Cæsar in the Gallic wars, he had learnt, as he fancied, a shorter way to fame and power, than what Cicero had been

inculcating; and having signalized himself in a campaign or two as a foldier, was in too much hafte to be a general; when Cæfar fent him at the head of a thoufand horfe, to the affiftance of his Father in the Parthian war. Here the vigor of his youth and courage carried him on fo far, in the purfuit of an enemy, whole chief art of conquest confifted in flying, that he had no way left to efcape, but what his high fpirit difdained, by the defection of his troops, and a precipitate flight; fo that finding himfelf oppofed with numbers, cruelly wounded, and in danger of falling alive into the hands of the Parthians, he chofe to die by the fword of his Armor-bearer. Thus while he aspired, as Cicero fays, to the fame of another Cyrus or Alexander, he fell fhort of that glory, which many of his Predeceffors had reaped, from a fucceffion of honors, conferred by their country, as a reward of their fervices²¹⁹.

By the death of young Craffus, a place became vacant in the College of Augurs, for which Cicero declared himfelf a Candidate: nor was any one fo hardy as to appear againft him, except Hirrus, the Tribune, who trufting to the popularity of his office and Pompey's favor, had the vanity to pretend to it: but a competition fo unequal furnifhed matter of raillery only to Cicero; who was chofen without any difficulty or ftruggle, with the unanimous approbation of the whole body²²⁰. This college, from the laft regulation of it by Sylla, confifted of fifteen, who were all perfons of the firft diftinction in Rome: it

was a priesthood for life, of a character indelible; which no crime or forfeiture could efface: the Priests of all kinds were originally chosen by their Colleges; till Domitius, a Tribune, about fifty years before, transferred the choice of them to the people; whose authority was held to be supreme in sacred, as well as civil affairs²²¹. This act was reversed by Sylla, and the ancient right restored to the Colleges; but Labienus, when Tribune, in Cicero's Consulship, recalled the law of Domitius, to facilitate Cæsar's advancement to the High-Priesthood: it was necessary however, that every Candidate should be nominated to the people by two Augurs, who gave a solemn testimony upon oath of his dignity and fitness for the office: this was done in Cicero's case by Pompey and Hortensius, the two most eminent members of the College; and after the election, he was installed with all the usual formalities by Hortensius²²².

As in the last year, so in this, the factions of the City prevented the choice of consuls: the Candidates, T. Annius Milo, Q. Metellus Scipio, and P. Plautius Hypsæus, pushed on their several interests with such open violence and bribery, as if the Consulship was to be carried only by money or arms²²³. Clodius was putting in at the same time for the Prætorship, and employing all his credit and interest to disappoint Milo, by whose obtaining the Consulship, he was sure to be eclipsed and controlled, in the exercise of his subordinate magistracy²²⁴. Pompey was wholly

averse to Milo, who did not pay him that court, which he expected, but seemed to affect an independency, and to trust to his own strength, while the other two competitors were wholly at his devotion: Hypsæus had been his Quæstor, and always his Creature; and he designed to make Scipio his Father-in-law, by marrying his daughter Cornelia a Lady of celebrated accomplishments, the widow of young Crassus.

Cicero, on the other hand, served Milo to the utmost of his power, and ardently wished his success: this he owed to Milo's constant attachment to him, which at all hazards he now resolved to repay: the affair however was likely to give him much trouble, as well from the difficulty of the opposition, as from Milo's own conduct, and unbounded prodigality, which threatened the ruin of all his fortunes: in a Letter to his Brother, who was still with Cæsar, he says, "Nothing
" can be more wretched than these men and
" these times: wherefore since no pleasure can
" now be had from the Republic, I know not
" why I should make myself uneasy: books,
" study, quiet, my Country-houses, and above
" all, my children are my sole delight: Milo is
" my only trouble: I wish his Consulship may
" put an end to it; in which I will not take less
" pains than I did in my own; and you will
" assist us there also, as you now do: all things
" stand well with him, unless some violence de-
" feat us: I am afraid only, how his money
" will hold out: for he is mad beyond all bounds

“ in the magnificence of his shows, which he is
 “ now preparing at the expense of 250,000l.
 “ but it shall be my care to check his inconsider-
 “ ateness in this one article, as far as I am able,
 “ &c. ²²⁵ ”

In the heat of this competition, Curio was coming home from Asia, and expected shortly at Rome; whence Cicero sent an express to meet him on the road, or at his landing in Italy, with a most earnest and pressing Letter to engage him to Milo's interest.

M. T. Cicero, to C. Curio.

A. Urb. 701.

Cic. 55.

“ Before we had yet heard of your coming
 “ towards Italy, I sent away S. Villius, Milo's
 “ friend, with this Letter to you: but when
 “ your arrival was supposed to be near, and it
 “ was known for certain, that you had left Asia,
 “ and were upon the road to Rome, the import-
 “ ance of the subject left no room to fear, that
 “ we should be thought to sent too hastily,
 “ when we were desirous to have it delivered to
 “ you as soon as possible. If my services to you,
 “ Curio, were really so great, as they are pro-
 “ claimed to be by you, rather than considered
 “ by me, I should be more reserved in asking,
 “ if I had any great favor to beg of you; for it
 “ goes hard with a modest man, to ask any
 “ thing considerable of one, whom he takes to
 “ be obliged to him; lest he be thought to de-
 “ mand, rather than to ask: and to look upon

it

“ it as a debt, not as a kindness. But since your
“ services to me, so eminently displayed in my
“ late troubles, are known to all to be the greatest;
“ and it is the part of an ingenuous mind, to
“ wish to be more obliged to those, to whom
“ we are already much obliged; I made no
“ scruple to beg of you by Letter, what of all
“ things is the most important and necessary to
“ me. For I am not afraid lest I should not
“ be able to sustain the weight of all your fa-
“ vors, though ever so numerous; being confi-
“ dent, that there is none so great, which my
“ mind is not able, both fully to contain, and
“ amply to requite and illustrate. I have placed
“ all my studies, pains, care, industry, thoughts,
“ and, in short, my very soul, on Milo’s Consul-
“ ship, and have resolved with myself, to ex-
“ pect from it, not only the common fruit of
“ duty, but the praise even of piety: nor was
“ any man, I believe, ever so solicitous, for his
“ own safety and fortunes, as I am for his ho-
“ nor; on which I have fixed all my views and
“ hopes. You, I perceive, can be of such ser-
“ vice to him, if you please, that we shall have
“ no occasion for any thing farther. We have
“ already with us the good wishes of all the
“ honest, engaged to him by his Tribunate;
“ and, as you will imagine also, I hope, by his
“ attachment to me; of the populace and the
“ multitude, by the magnificence of his shows,
“ and the generosity of his nature: of the youth
“ and men of interest, by his own peculiar

“ credit or diligence among that sort: he has all
“ my assistance likewise, which though of little
“ weight, yet being allowed by all to be just and
“ due to him, may perhaps be of some influence.
“ What we want, is a Captain and Leader, or
“ a Pilot, as it were, of all those winds; and
“ were we to chuse one out of the whole City,
“ we could not find a man so fit for the purpose
“ as you. Wherefore, if from all the pains,
“ which I am now taking for Milo, you can be-
“ lieve me to be mindful of benefits; if grate-
“ ful; if a good man; if worthy in short of
“ your kindness; I beg of you to relieve my
“ present solicitude, and lend your helping hand
“ to my praise; or, to speak more truly, to my
“ safety. As to T. Annius himself, I promise
“ you, if you embrace him, that you will not
“ find a man of a greater mind, gravity, con-
“ stancy, or of greater affection to you: and as
“ for myself, you will add such a lustre and fresh
“ dignity to me, that I shall readily own you,
“ to have shown the same zeal for my honor,
“ which you exerted before for my preservation.
“ If I was not sure, from what I have already
“ said, that you would see how much I take my
“ duty to be interested in this affair, and how
“ much it concerns me, not only to struggle,
“ but even to fight for Milo’s, success, I should
“ press you still farther; but I now recommend
“ and throw the whole cause, and myself also
“ with it, into your hands, and beg of you, to
“ assure yourself of this one thing; that if I

“ obtain this favor from you , I shall be more in-
“ debted almost to you , than even to Milo
“ himself; since my safety, in which I was prin-
“ cipally assisted by him , was not so dear , as
“ the piety of showing my gratitude will be
“ agreeable to me ; which I am persuaded , I
“ shall be able to effect by your assistance.
“ Adieu ²²⁶ . ”

The Senate and the better sort were generally in Milo's interest ; but three of the Tribunes were violent against him ; Q. Pompeius Rufus , Munacius Plancus Bursa , and Sallust the Historian ; the other seven were his fast friends , but above all M. Cælius , who , out of regard to Cicero , served him with a particular zeal. But while all things were proceeding very prosperously in his favor , and nothing seemed wanting to crown his success , but to bring on the election , which his adversaries , for that reason , were laboring to keep back ; all his hopes and fortunes were blasted at once by an unhappy rencounter with his old enemy Clodius , in which Clodius was killed by his servants , and by his command.

Their meeting was wholly accidental on the Appian road , not far from the City ; Clodius coming home from the country towards Rome ; Milo going out about three in the afternoon ; the first on horseback , with three companions , and thirty servants well armed ; the latter in a chariot with his wife and one friend , but with a much greater retinue , and among them some Gladiators. The servants on both sides began presently

to insult each other; when Clodius turning briskly to some of Milo's men, who were nearest to him, and threatening them with his usual fierceness, received a wound in his shoulder, from one of the Gladiators; and after receiving several more in the general fray, which instantly ensued, finding his life in danger, was forced to fly for shelter into a neighbouring Tavern. Milo heated by this success, and the thoughts of revenge, and reflecting, that he had already done enough to give his enemy a great advantage against him, if he was left alive to pursue it, resolved, whatever was the consequence, to have the pleasure of destroying him, and so ordered the house to be stormed, and Clodius to be dragged out and murdered: the master of the Tavern was likewise killed, with eleven of Clodius's servants, while the rest saved themselves by flight: so that Clodius's body was left in the road, where it fell, till S. Tedijs, a Senator, happening to come by, took it up into his Chaise, and brought it with him to Rome; where it was exposed in that condition, all covered with blood and wounds, to the view of the populace, who flocked about it in crowds to lament the miserable fate of their Leader. The next day the mob, headed by S. Clodius, a kinsman of the deceased, and one of his chief Incendiaries, carried the body naked, so as all the wounds might be seen, into the Forum, and placed it in the Rostra; where the three Tribunes, Milo's enemies, were prepared to harangue upon it in a style suited to the lamentable

occasion, by which they inflamed their mercenaries to such a height of fury, that snatching up the body, they ran away with it into the Senate-house, and tearing up the benches, tables, and every thing combustible, dressed up a funeral pile upon the spot, and, together with the body, burnt the house itself, with a Basilica also, or public Hall adjoining, called the Porcian; and, in the same fit of madness, proceeded to storm the house of Milo, and of M. Lepidus, the Interrex, but were repulsed in both attacks, with some loss²²⁷.

These extravagancies raised great indignation in the City; and gave a turn in favor of Milo; who looking upon himself as undone, was meditating nothing before, but a voluntary exile: but now taking courage, he ventured to appear in public, and was introduced into the Rostra by Cælius; where he made his defence to the people; and, to mitigate their resentment, distributed through all the Tribes above three pounds a man, to every poor Citizen. But all his pains and expense were to little purpose; for the three Tribunes employed all the arts of party and faction to keep up the ill-humor of the populace; and what was more fatal, Pompey would not be brought into any measures of accommodating the matter; so that the tumults still increasing, the Senate passed a decree, that the Interrex, assisted by the Tribunes and Pompey, should take care, that the Republic received no detriment; and that Pompey, in particular, should raise a body of troops for the common security; which he presently drew toge-

ther from all parts of Italy. In this confusion, the rumor of a Dictator was again industriously revived, and gave a fresh alarm to the Senate; who, to avoid the greater evil, resolved presently to create Pompey the single Consul: so that the Interrex, Servius Sulpicius, declared his election accordingly, after an Interregnum of near two months²²⁸.

A. Urb. 701.

Cic 55.

CN. POM-

PEIUS

MAGN. III.

Sine Collega.

Pompey applied himself immediately to calm the public disorders, and published several new Laws, prepared by him for that purpose: one of them was, to appoint a special commission to inquire into Clodius's death, the burning of the Senate-house, and the attack on M. Lepidus; and to appoint an extraordinary Judge, of Consular rank, to preside in it: a second was, against bribery and corruption in elections, with the infliction of new and severer penalties. By these laws, the method of trials was altered, and the length of them limited: three days were allowed for the examination of witnesses, and the fourth for the sentence; on which the accuser was to have two hours only, to enforce the charge; the Criminal three for his defence²²⁹: which regulation Tacitus seems to consider, as the first step towards the ruin of the Roman eloquence; by imposing reins, as it were, upon its free and ancient course²³⁰. Cælius opposed his negative to these Laws, as being rather privileges than Laws, and provided particularly against Milo: but he was soon obliged to withdraw it, upon Pompey's declaring, that he would support them by force of Arms. The three Tribunes, all the while, were perpetually haranguing, and

terrifying the City with forged stories, of magazines of arms prepared by Milo, for massacring his enemies, and burning the City; and produced their creatures in the Rostra, to vouch the truth of them to the people: they charged him particularly with a design against Pompey's life; and brought one Licinius, a killer of the victims for sacrifice, to declare that Milo's servants had confessed it to him in their cups, and then endeavoured to kill him, lest he should discover it: and to make his story the more credible, showed a slight wound in his side, made by himself, which he affirmed to have been given by the stroke of a Gladiator. Pompey himself confirmed this fact, and laid an account of it before the Senate; and by doubling his guard affected to intimate a real apprehension of danger²³¹. Nor were they less industrious to raise a clamor against Cicero; and, in order to deter him from pleading Milo's cause, threatened him also with trials and prosecutions; giving it out every where, that Clodius was killed indeed by the hand of Milo, but by the advice and contrivance of a greater man²³². Yet such was his constancy to his friend, says Asconius, that neither the loss of popular favor, nor Pompey's suspicions, nor his own danger, nor the terror of arms, could divert him from the resolution of undertaking Milo's defence²³³.

But it was Pompey's influence and authority, which ruined Milo²³⁴. He was the only man in Rome, who had the power either to bring him to a trial, or to get him condemned: not that he was

concerned for Clodius's death, or the manner of it, but pleased rather, that the Republic was freed at any rate from so pestilent a Demagogue; yet he resolved to take the benefit of the occasion, for getting rid of Milo too, from whose ambition and high spirit he had cause to apprehend no less trouble. He would not listen therefore to any overtures, which were made to him by Milo's Friends; and when Milo offered to drop his suit for the Consulship, if that would satisfy him, he answered, that he would not concern himself with any man's suing or desisting, nor give any obstruction to the power and inclination of the Roman people. He attended the trial in person with a strong guard to preserve peace, and prevent any violence from either side: there were many clear and positive proofs produced against Milo, though some of them were supposed to be forged: among the rest, the Vestal virgins deposed, that a woman unknown came to them, in Milo's name, to discharge a vow, said to be made by him, on the account of Clodius's death²³⁵.

When the examination was over, Munatius Plancus called the people together, and exhorted them to appear in a full body the next day, when judgment was to be given, and to declare their sentiments in so public a manner, that the criminal might not be suffered to escape; which Cicero reflects upon in the defence, as an insult on the liberty of the Bench²³⁶. Early in the morning, on the eleventh of April, the shops were all shut, and the whole City gathered into the Forum; where

the avenues were possessed by Pompey's soldiers, and he himself seated in a conspicuous part, to overlook the whole proceeding, and hinder all disturbance. The accusers were, young Appius, the Nephew of Clodius, M. Antonius, and P. Valerius, who, according to the new law, employed two hours, in supporting their indictment. Cicero was the only advocate on Milo's side; but as soon as he rose up to speak, he was received with so rude a clamor by the Clodians, that he was much discomposed and daunted at his first setting out; yet recovered spirit enough to go through his speech of three hours; which was taken down in writing, and published as it was delivered; though the copy of it now extant is supposed to have been retouched and corrected by him afterwards, for a present to Milo in his exile²¹⁷.

In the council of Milo's friends, several were of opinion, that he should defend himself, by avowing the death of Clodius to be an act of public benefit: But Cicero thought that defence too desperate: as it would disgust the grave, by opening so great a door to licence; and offend the powerful, lest the precedent should be extended to themselves. But young Brutus was not so cautious; who, in an oration, which he composed and published afterwards in vindication of Milo, maintained the killing of Clodius to be right and just, and of great service to the Republic²¹⁸. It was notorious, that on both sides, they had often threatened death to each other: Clodius especially had declared several times both to the Senate and

the people, that Milo ought to be killed; and that, if the Consulship could not be taken from him, his life could: and when Favonius asked him once, what hopes he could have of playing his mad pranks, while Milo was living, he replied, that in three or four days at most, he should live no more: which was spoken just three days before the fatal rencounter, and attested by Favonius²³⁹. Since Milo then was charged with being the contriver of their meeting, and the aggressor in it, and several testimonies were produced to that purpose, Cicero chose to risk the cause on that issue; in hopes to persuade, what seemed to be the most probable, that Clodius actually lay in wait for Milo, and contrived the time and place; and that Milo's part was but a necessary act of self-defence. This appeared plausible, from the nature of their equipage, and the circumstances in which they met: for though Milo's company was the more numerous, yet it was much more encumbered, and unfit for engagement, than his adversary's; he himself being in a chariot with his wife, and all her women along with him; while Clodius with his followers were on horseback; as if prepared and equipped for fighting²⁴⁰. He did not preclude himself however by this from the other plea, which he often takes occasion to insinuate, that if Milo had really designed and contrived to kill Clodius, he would have deserved honors instead of punishment, for cutting off so desperate and dangerous an enemy to the peace and liberty of Rome²⁴¹.

In this speech for Milo, after he had shown the folly of paying such a regard to the idle rumors and forgeries of his enemies, as to give them the credit of an examination, he touches Pompey's conduct and pretended fears, with a fine and masterly raillery; and from a kind of prophetic foresight of what might one day happen, addresses himself to him in a very pathetic manner. — "I could not but applaud," says he, "the
" wonderful diligence of Pompey in these inquiries: but to tell you freely, what I think; those
" who are charged with the care of the whole
" Republic, are forced to hear many things, which
" they would condemn, if they were at liberty to
" do it. He could not refuse an audience to that
" paultry fellow, Licinius, who gave the information about Milo's servants — I was sent for
" among the first of those friends, by whose
" advice he laid it before the Senate; and was,
" I own, in no small consternation, to see the
" Guardian both of me and my Country under
" so great an apprehension; yet I could not help
" wondering, that such credit was given to a
" Butcher; such regard to drunken slaves; and
" how the wound in the man's side, which seemed
" to be the prick only of a needle, could be
" taken for the stroke of a Gladiator. But Pompey
" was showing his caution, rather than his fear;
" and disposed to be suspicious of every thing,
" that you might have reason to fear nothing.
" There was a rumor also, that Cæsar's house
" was attacked for several hours in the night: the

“ neighbours, though in so public a place, heard
“ nothing at all of it; yet the affair was thought
“ fit to be inquired into. I can never suspect a
“ man of Pompey’s eminent courage, of being
“ timorous; nor yet think any caution too great
“ in one who has taken upon himself the defence
“ of the whole Republic. A Senator likewise in a
“ full house, affirmed lately in the Capitol, that
“ Milo had a dagger under his gown at that very
“ time: Milo stript himself presently in that most
“ sacred Temple; that, since his life and manners
“ would not give him credit, the thing itself might
“ speak for him, which was found to be false,
“ and basely forged. But if, after all, Milo must
“ still be feared; it is no longer the affair of
“ Clodius, but your suspicions, Pompey, which
“ we dread: your, your suspicions, I say, and
“ speak it so, that you may hear me. — If those
“ suspicions stick so close, that they are never to
“ be removed; if Italy must never be free from
“ new levies, nor the City from arms, without
“ Milo’s destruction; he would not scruple, such
“ is his nature and his principles, to bid adieu to
“ his Country, and submit to a voluntary exile:
“ but at taking leave, he would call upon Thee,
“ O Thou Great One! as he now does, to consider
“ how uncertain and variable the condition of life
“ is: how unsettled and inconstant a thing, fortune;
“ what unfaithfulness there is in friends; what
“ dissimulation suited to times and circumstances;
“ what desertion, what cowardice in our dangers,
“ even of those, who are dearest to us: there

“ will, there will, I say, be a time, and the day
“ will certainly come, when you, with safety still,
“ I hope, to your fortunes, though changed perhaps
“ by some turn of the common times, which, as
“ experience shows, will often happen to us all,
“ may want the affection of the friendliest, the
“ fidelity of the worthiest, the courage of the
“ bravest man living, &c. ²⁴². ”

Of the one-and-fifty judges, who sat upon Milo, thirteen only acquitted, and thirty-eight condemned him; the votes were usually given by ballot; but Cato, who absolved him, chose to give his vote openly; and, “ if he had done it earlier,” says Velleius, “ would have drawn others after him; “ since all were convinced, that he, who was “ killed, was, of all who had ever lived, the “ most pernicious enemy to his Country, and to “ all good men ²⁴³. ” Milo went into exile at Marfeilles, a few days after his condemnation: his debts were so great, that he was glad to retire the sooner from the importunity of his creditors; for whose satisfaction his whole estate was sold by public auction. Here Cicero still continued his care for him, and in concert with Milo’s friends, ordered one of his wife’s freedmen, Philotimus, to assist at the sale, and to purchase the greatest part of the effects, in order to dispose of them afterwards to the best advantage, for the benefit of Milo and his wife Fausta, if any thing could be saved for them. But his intended service was not so well relished by Milo, as he expected; for Philotimus was suspected of playing the knave,

and secreting part of the effects to his own use ; which gave Cicero great uneasiness ; so that he pressed Atticus and Cælius to inquire into the matter very narrowly , and oblige Philotimus “ to give
“ satisfaction to Milo’s friends ; and to see espe-
“ cially , that his own reputation did not suffer
“ by the management of his servant²⁴⁴. ” Through this whole struggle about Milo , Pompey treated Cicero with great humanity : he assigned him a
“ guard at the trial ; forgave all his labors for his
“ friend , though in opposition to himself ; and
“ so far from resenting what he did , would
“ not suffer other people’s resentments to hurt
“ him²⁴⁵. ”

The next trial before the same Tribunal , and for the same crime , was of M. Sausenius , one of Milo’s confidants , charged with being the ringleader in storming the house , and killing Clodius : he was defended also by Cicero , and acquitted only by one vote : but being accused a second time on the same account , though for a different fact , and again defended by Cicero , he was acquitted by a great majority. But Sex. Clodius , the Captain of the other side , had not the luck to escape so well ; but was condemned and banished with several others of that faction , to the great joy of the City , for burning the Senate-house , and the other violences committed upon Clodius’s death²⁴⁶.

Pompey no sooner published his new law against bribery , than the late Consular Candidates , Scipio and Hypsæus , were severally impeached

upon it ; and being both of them notoriously guilty, were in great danger of being condemned: but Pompey , calling the body of the Judges together , begged it of them as a favor , that out of the great number of state Criminals , they would remit Scipio to him: whom , after he had rescued from this prosecution , he declared his Colleague in the Consulship , for the last five months of the year ; having first made him his Father-in-law by marrying his daughter, Cornelia. The other Candidate, Hypsæus , was left to the mercy of the law ; and being likely to fare the worse for Scipio's escape , and to be made a sacrifice to the popular odium , he watched an opportunity of access to Pompey , as he was coming out of his bath , and throwing himself at his feet , implored his protection : but though he had been his Quæstor , and ever obsequious to his will , yet Pompey is said to have thrust him away with great haughtiness and inhumanity , telling him coldly , that he would only spoil his supper by detaining him ¹⁴⁷.

A. Urb. 701.
Cic. 55.
CN. POM-
PEIUS
MAGN. III.
Q. CÆCILI-
US METEL-
LUS SCIPIO.

Before the end of the year , Cicero had some amends for the loss of his friend Milo , by the condemnation and banishment of Two of the Tribunes , the common enemies of them both , Q. Pompeius Rufus , and T. Munatius Plancus Bursa , for the violences of their Tribunate , and burning the Senate-house. As soon as their office expired , Cælius accused the first ; and Cicero himself the second ; the only cause , excepting that of Verres , in which he ever acted the part

of an Accuser. But Bursa had deserved it, both for his public behaviour in his office, and his personal injuries to Cicero; who had defended and preserved him in a former trial. He depended on Pompey's saving him; and had no apprehension of danger, since Pompey undertook to plead his cause, before Judges of his own appointing; yet by Cicero's vigor in managing the prosecution, he was condemned by an unanimous vote of the whole bench²⁴⁸. Cicero was highly pleased with this success, as he signifies in a Letter to his friend Marius, which will explain the motives of his conduct in it.

“I know very well,” says he, “that you rejoice
“at Bursa's fate, but you congratulate me too
“coldly: you imagine, you tell me, that for the
“sordidness of the man, I take the less pleasure
“in it; but believe me, I have more joy from
“this sentence than from the death of my enemy:
“for, in the first place, I love to pursue, rather by
“trial, than the sword; rather with the glory,
“than the ruin of a friend; and it pleased me
“extremely, to see, so great an inclination of all
“honest men on my side, against the incredible
“pains of one, the most eminent and powerful:
“and lastly, what you will scarce think possible,
“I hated this fellow worse than Clodius himself:
“for I had attacked the one, but defended the
“other: and Clodius, when the safety of the Re-
“public was risked upon my head, had something
“great, in view, not indeed from his own
“strength, but the help of those, who could
not

“ not maintain their ground, whilst I stood firm :
“ but this silly Ape, out of a gaiety of heart,
“ chose me particularly for the object of his
“ invectives ; and persuaded those, who envied
“ me, that he would be always at their service,
“ to insult me at any warning. Wherefore I charge
“ you to rejoice in good earnest ; for it is a great
“ victory, which we have won. No Citizens
“ were ever flouter than those who condemned
“ him, against so great a power of one, by
“ whom themselves were chosen Judges : which
“ they would never have done, if they had
“ not made my cause and grief their own. We
“ are so distracted here by a multitude of trials
“ and new laws, that our daily prayer is against
“ all Intercalations, that we may see you as soon
“ as possible ²⁴⁹. ”

Soon after the death of Clodius, Cicero seems to have written his Treatise on laws ²⁵⁰ ; after the example of Plato, whom of all writers he most loved to imitate : for as Plato, after he had written on government in general, drew up a body of laws, adapted to that particular form of it, which he had been delineating ; so Cicero chose to deliver his political sentiments in the same method ²⁵¹ ; not by translating Plato, but imitating his manner in the explication of them. This work being designed then, as a supplement, or second volume, to his other upon the Republic, was distributed probably, as that other was, into six books : for we meet with some quotations among the ancients, from the fourth and fifth ;

though there are but three now remaining, and those in some places imperfect. In the first of these, he lays open the origin of law, and the source of obligation; which he derives from the universal nature of things, or, as he explains it, from the consummate reason or will of the supreme God²⁵²: in the other two books, he gives a body of laws conformable to his own plan and idea of a well-ordered City²⁵³: first, those which relate to religion and the worship of the Gods; secondly, those which prescribe the duties and powers of the several Magistrates, from which the peculiar form of each government is denominated. These laws are generally taken from the old constitution or custom of Rome²⁵⁴; with some little variation and temperament, contrived to obviate the disorders, to which that Republic was liable, and to give it a stronger turn towards the Aristocratical side²⁵⁵: in the other books which are lost, he had treated, as he tells us, of the particular rights and privileges of the Roman people²⁵⁶.

Pompey was preparing an Inscription this summer for the front of the New Temple, which he had lately built to Venus the Conquerefs, containing as usual, the recital of all his Titles: but in drawing it up, a question happened to be started, about the manner of expressing his third Consulship; whether it should be by Consul Tertium or Tertio. This was referred to the principal Critics of Rome, who could not, it seems, agree about it; some of them contending for the one,

some for the other ; so that Pompey left it to Cicero , to decide the matter , and to inscribe what he thought the best. But Cicero being unwilling to give judgment on either side , when there were great authorities on both , and Varro among them , advised Pompey to abbreviate the word in question , and order TERT. only to be inscribed ; which fully declared the thing , without determining the dispute. From this fact we may observe , how nicely exact they were in this age , in preserving a propriety of language in their public monuments and inscriptions ²⁵⁷.

Among the other acts of Pompey , in his third Consulship , there was a new law against bribery , contrived to strengthen the old ones , that were already subsisting against it , “ by disqualifying all future Consuls and Prætors , from holding any province , till five years after the expiration of their Magistracies : ” for this was thought likely to give some check to the eagerness of suing and bribing for those great offices , when the chief fruit and benefit of them was removed to such a distance ²⁵⁸. But before the law passed , Pompey took care to provide an exception for himself , “ and to get the government of Spain continued to him for five years longer ; with an appointment of money for the payment of his troops : ” and lest this should give offence to Cæsar , if something also of an extraordinary kind was not provided for him ; he proposed a law , to dispense with Cæsar’s absence in suing for the Consulship ; of which

Cæsar at that time seemed very desirous. Cælius was the promoter of this law, engaged to it by Cicero, at the joint request of Pompey and Cæsar²⁵⁹; and it was carried with the concurrence of all the Tribunes, though not without difficulty and obstruction from the Senate, but this unusual favor, instead of satisfying Cæsar, served only, as Suetonius says, to raise his hopes and demands still higher²⁶⁰.

By Pompey's law, just mentioned, it was provided, that for a supply of Governors, for the interval "of five years, in which the Consuls
" and Prætors were disqualified, the Senators of
" Consular and Prætorian rank, who had never
" held any foreign command, should divide the
" vacant Provinces among themselves by lot:" in consequence of which, Cicero, who was obliged to take his chance with the rest, obtained the Government of Cilicia, now in the hands of Appius, the late Consul: this Province included also Pisidia, Pamphilia, and three Diocefes, as they were called, or Districts of Asia, together with the Island of Cyprus; for the guard of all which, "a standing army was kept up of two
" Legions, or about twelve thousand foot; with
" two thousand six hundred horse²⁶¹:" and thus one of those Provincial Governments, which were withheld from others by law, to correct their inordinate passion for them, was, contrary to his will and expectation, obtruded at last upon Cicero, whose business it had been through life to avoid them²⁶².

The City began now to feel the unhappy effects, both of Julia's and Crassus's death, from the mutual apprehensions and jealousies, which discovered themselves more and more every day between Pompey and Cæsar: the Senate was generally in Pompey's interest; and trusting to the name and authority of so great a Leader, were determined to humble the pride and ambition of Cæsar, by recalling him from his government; whilst Cæsar, on the other hand, trusting to the strength of his troops, resolved to keep possession of it in defiance of all their votes; and by drawing a part of his forces into the Italic or Cisalpine Gaul, so as to be ready at any warning to support his pretensions, began to alarm all Italy with the melancholy prospect of an approaching civil war: and this was the situation of affairs, when Cicero set forward towards his Government of Cilicia.

S E C T. VII.

A. Urb. 702.

Cic. 56.

Coff.

SERV. SUL-

PICIUS RU-

FUS,

M. CLAU-

DIUS MAR-

CELLUS.

THIS year opens to us a new scene in Cicero's life, and presents him in a character, which he had never before sustained, of the Governor of a Province, and General of an army. These preferments were, of all others, the most ardently desired by the great for the advantages which they afforded both of acquiring power, and amassing wealth: for their command, though accountable to the Roman people, was absolute and uncontrollable in the Province; where they kept up the state and pride of sovereign Princes, and had all the neighbouring Kings paying a court to them, and attending their orders. If their genius was turned to arms, and fond of martial glory, they could never want a pretext for war, since it was easy to drive the subjects into rebellion, or the adjoining nations to acts of hostility by their oppressions and injuries, till from the destruction of a number of innocent people, they had acquired the Title of Emperor, and with it the pretension to a triumph; without which scarce any Proconsul was ever known to return from a remote and frontier-province. Their opportunities of raising money were as immense as their power, and bounded only by their own appetites: the appointments from the treasury, for their equipage, plate, and necessary furniture,

amounted, as appears from some instances, to near a hundred and fifty thousand pounds: and, besides the revenues of kingdoms, and pay of armies, of which they had the arbitrary management, they could exact what contributions they pleased, not only from the Cities of their own jurisdiction, but from all the states and Princes around them, who were under the protection of Rome. But while their primary care was to enrich themselves, they carried out with them always a band of hungry friends and dependents, as their Lieutenants, Tribunes, Præfects, with a crew of freedmen and favorite slaves, who were all likewise to be enriched by the spoils of the Province, and the sale of their master's favors. Hence flowed all those accusations and trials for the plunder of the subjects, of which we read so much in the Roman writers: for as few or none of the Proconsuls behaved themselves with that exact justice, as to leave no room for complaint, so the factions of the City, and the quarrels of families, subsisting from former impeachments, generally excited some or other to revenge the affront in kind, by undertaking the cause of an injured Province, and dressing up an impeachment against their enemy.

But whatever benefit or glory this Government seemed to offer, it had no charms for Cicero: the thing itself was disagreeable to his temper, nor worthy of those talents, which were formed to sit at the helm, and shine in the administration of the whole Republic: so that he

considered it only as an honorable exile, or a burden imposed by his country, to which his duty obliged him to submit. His first care therefore was to provide, that this command might not be prolonged to him beyond the usual term of a year: which was frequently done, when the necessities of the Province, the character of the man, the intrigues of parties, or the hurry of other business at home, left the senate neither leisure nor inclination to think of changing the Governor: and this was the more likely to happen at present, through the scarcity of magistrates, who were now left capable by the late law of succeeding him. Before his departure therefore, he solicited all his friends, not to suffer such a mortification to fall upon him; and after he was gone, scarce wrote a single letter to Rome, without urging the same request in the most pressing terms; in his first to Atticus, within three days from their parting; do not imagine, says he, that I have any other consolation in this great trouble, than the hopes that it will not be continued beyond the year: many, who judge of me by others, do not take me to be in earnest, but you, who know me, will use all your diligence, especially, when the affair is to come on^{*}.

He left the City about the first of May, attended by his Brother and their two Sons: for Quintus had quitted his commission under Cæsar, in order to accompany him into Cilicia, in the same capacity of his Lieutenant. Atticus had desired him, before he left Italy, to admonish his Bro-

ther, to show more complaisance and affection to his wife Pomponia, who had been complaining to him of her husband's peevishness and churlish carriage, and lest Cicero should forget it, he put him in mind again, by a letter to him on the road, that since all the family were to be together in the Country, on this occasion of his going abroad, he would persuade Quintus to leave his wife at least in good humor at their parting: in relation to which, Cicero sends him the following account of what passed.

“ When I arrived at Arpinum, and my Brother was come to me, our first and chief discourse was on you; which gave me an opportunity of falling upon the affair of your Sister, which you and I had talked over together at Tusculum: I never saw any thing so mild and moderate as my Brother was, without giving the least hint of his ever having had any real cause of offence from her. The next morning we left Arpinum; and that day being a festival, Quintus was obliged to spend it at Arcanum, where I dined with him, but went on afterwards to Aquinum: You know this Villa of his: as soon as we came thither, Quintus said to his wife, in the civillest terms; do you, Pomponia, invite the women, and I will send to the men: (nothing, as far as I saw, could be said more obligingly, either in his words or manner:) to which she replied, so as we all might hear it, I am but a stranger here myself: referring, I guess, to my Brother's having sent

“ Statius before us to order the dinner: upon
“ which, see, says my Brother to me, what I am
“ forced to bear every day. This, you will say,
“ was no great matter. Yes, truly, great
“ enough to give me much concern; to see
“ her reply so absurdly and fiercely both in her
“ words and looks: but I dissembled my unea-
“ siness. When we sat down to dinner, she
“ would not sit down with us; and when Quin-
“ tus sent her several things from the table, she
“ sent them all back: in short, nothing could be
“ milder than my Brother, or ruder than your
“ Sister: yet I omit many particulars, which gave
“ more trouble to me than to Quintus himself.
“ I went away to Aquinum; he staid at Arcanum:
“ but when he came to me early the next morn-
“ ing, he told me, that she refused to lie with
“ him that night; and at their parting continued
“ in the same humor, in which I had seen her.
“ In a word, you may let her know from me,
“ that, in my opinion, the fault was all on her
“ side that day. I have been longer perhaps,
“ than was necessary, in my narrative, to let you
“ see, that there is occasion also on your part for
“ advice and admonition ‘.

One cannot help observing from this little in-
cident, what is confirmed by innumerable instances
in the Roman story, that the freedom of a divorce,
which was indulged without restraint at Rome,
to the caprice of either party, gave no advantage
of comfort to the matrimonial state; but on the
contrary, seems to have encouraged rather a mu-

tual perverseness and obstinacy; since upon any little disgust, or obstruction given to their follies, the expedient of a change was ready always to flatter them, with the hopes of better success in another trial: for there never was an age or country, where there was so profligate a contempt and violation of the nuptial bond, or so much lewdness and infidelity in the Great of both sexes, as at this time in Rome.

Cicero spent a few days as he passed forward, at his Cuman Villa, near Baiæ, where there was such a resort of Company to him, that he had, he says, a kind of a little Rome about him: Hortensius came among the rest, though much out of health, to pay his compliments, and wish him a good voyage, and, at taking leave, when he asked, what commands he had for him in his absence, Cicero begged of him only, to use all his authority, to hinder his Government from being prolonged to him. In sixteen days from Rome, he arrived at Tarentum, where he had promised to make a visit to Pompey, who was taking the benefit of that soft air, for the recovery of his health, at one of his Villas in those parts; and had invited and pressed Cicero to spend some days with him upon his journey: they proposed great satisfaction on both sides from this interview, for the opportunity of conferring together with all freedom, on the present state of the Republic, which was to be their subject: though Cicero expected also to get some lessons of the military kind, from this renowned

Commander. He promised Atticus an account of this Conference; but the particulars being too delicate to be communicated by Letters, he acquainted him only in general, that he found Pompey an excellent Citizen, and provided for all events, which could possibly be apprehended'.

After three days stay with Pompey, he proceeded to Brundisium; where he was detained for twelve days by a slight indisposition, and the expectation of his principal officers, particularly of his Lieutenant Pontinius, an experienced Leader, the same who had triumphed over the Allobroges; and on whose skill he chiefly depended in his martial affairs. From Brundisium, he sailed to Actium, on the fifteenth of June; whence partly by sea, and partly by land, he arrived at Athens on the twenty-sixth'. Here he lodged in the house of Aristus, the principal professor of the Academy: and his Brother not far from him, with Xeno, another celebrated Philosopher of Epicurus's School: they spent their time here very agreeably; at home, in Philosophical disquisitions; abroad, in viewing the buildings and antiquities of the place, with which Cicero was much delighted: there were several other men of learning, both Greeks and Romans, of the party; especially Gallus Caninius and Patro, an eminent Epicurean, and intimate friend of Atticus'.

There lived at this time in exile at Athens, C. Memmius, banished upon a conviction of bribery, in his suit for the consulship; who, the day before Cicero's arrival, happened to go

away to Mitylene. The figure, which he had born in Rome, gave him authority in Athens; and the council of Areopagus had granted him a piece of ground to build upon, where Epicurus formerly lived, and where there still remained the old ruins of his walls. But this grant had given great offence to the whole body of the Epicureans, to see the remains of their master in danger of being destroyed. They had written to Cicero at Rome, to beg him to intercede with Memmius, to consent to a revocation of it; and now at Athens, Xeno and Patro renewed their instances, and prevailed with him to write about it, in the most effectual manner; for though Memmius had laid aside his design of building, the Areopagites would not recal their decree without his leave¹⁰. Cicero's letter is drawn with much art and accuracy: he laughs at the trifling zeal of these Philosophers, for the old rubbish and paultry ruins of their Founder, yet earnestly presses Memmius, to indulge them in a prejudice, contracted through weakness, not wickedness; and though he professes an utter dislike of their Philosophy, yet he recommends them, as honest, agreeable, friendly men, for whom he entertained the highest esteem¹¹. From this letter one may observe, that the greatest difference in Philosophy made no difference of friendship among the great of these times. There was not a more declared enemy to Epicurus's doctrine, than Cicero: he thought it destructive of morality, and pernicious to Society; but he charged this consequence to the principles,

not the Professors of them; with many of whom he held the strictest intimacy; and found them to be worthy, virtuous, generous friends, and lovers of their Country: there is a jocosè Letter to Trebatius, when he was with Cæsar in Gaul, upon his turning Epicurean, which will help to confirm this reflection.

Cicero to Trebatius.

“ I was wondering, why you had given over
“ writing to me; till Panfa informed me, that
“ you were turned Epicurean. O rare Camp!
“ what would you have done if I had sent you
“ to Tarentum instead of Samerobriva? I began
“ to think the worse of you, ever since you
“ made my friend Seius your pattern. But with
“ what face will you now pretend to practise the
“ law, when you are to do every thing for your
“ own interest, and not for your Client’s? and
“ what will become of that old form, and test of
“ fidelity; as true men ought to act truly, with
“ one another? what Law would you alledge for
“ the distribution of common right, when no-
“ thing can be common with those who mea-
“ sure all things by their pleasure? with what
“ face can you swear by Jupiter; when Jupiter,
“ you know, can never be angry with any man?
“ and what will become of your people of Ulu-
“ bræ; since you do not allow a wise man to
“ meddle with politics? wherefore if you are
“ really gone off from us, I am sorry for it; but

“ if it be convenient to pay this compliment
“ to Panfa, I forgive you; on condition how-
“ ever, that you write me word what you are
“ doing, and what you would have me do for
“ you here ”. ” The change of principles in
Trebatus, though equivalent in effect to a change
of Religion with us, made no alteration in Ci-
cero’s affection for him. This was the dictate
of reason to the best and wisest of the Heathens;
and may serve to expose the rashness of those
zealots, who, with the light of a most divine and
benevolent religion, are perpetually insulting and
persecuting their fellow Christians, for differences
of opinion, which for the most part are merely
speculative, and without any influence on life, or
the good and happiness of civil Society.

After ten days spent at Athens, where Ponti-
nius at last joined him, Cicero set sail towards
Asia. Upon leaving Italy, he had charged his
friend Cælius with the task of sending him the
news of Rome; which Cælius performed very
punctually, in a series of Letters, which make a
valuable part in the collection of his familiar
Epistles: they are polite and entertaining; full of
wit and spirit; yet not flowing with that easy
turn, and elegance of expression, which we
always find in Cicero’s. The first of them, with
Cicero’s answer, will give us a specimen of
the rest.

M. Cælius to M. Cicero.

“ According to my promise at parting, to
“ send you an account of all the news of the
“ Town, I have provided one to collect it for
“ you so punctually, that I am afraid, lest you
“ should think my diligence at last too minute:
“ but I know how curious you are; and how
“ agreeable it is to all, who are abroad, to be
“ informed of every thing that passes at home,
“ though ever so trifling. I beg of you, however,
“ not to condemn me of arrogance, for deputing
“ another to this task: since, as busy as I now
“ am, and as lazy as you know me to be in
“ writing, it would be the greatest pleasure to
“ me, to be employed in any thing that revives
“ the remembrance of you: but the packet it-
“ self, which I have sent, will, I imagine, rea-
“ dily excuse me; for what leisure would it re-
“ quire, not only to transcribe, but to attend
“ even to the contents of it? there are all the
“ decrees of the Senate, Edicts, plays, rumors:
“ if the sample does not please you, pray let me
“ know it, that I may not give you trouble, at
“ my cost. If any thing important happens in
“ the republic, above the reach of these hack-
“ ney writers, I will send you an account of it
“ myself; in what manner it was transacted; what
“ speculations are raised upon it, what effects
“ apprehended: at present there is no great ex-
“ pectation of any thing: as to those rumors,
“ which were so warm at Cumæ, of assembling
the

“ the Colonies beyond the Po, when I came to
“ Rome, I heard not a syllable about them. Mar-
“ cellus too, because he has not yet made any
“ motion for a successor to the two Gauls, but
“ puts it off, as he told me himself, to the first
“ of June, has revived the same talk concerning
“ him, which was stirring when we were at
“ Rome together. If you saw Pompey, as you
“ designed to do, pray send me word in what
“ temper you found him; what conversation he
“ had with you; what inclination he showed;
“ for he is apt to think one thing, and say another,
“ yet has not wit enough to conceal what he really
“ means. As for Cæsar, there are many ugly re-
“ ports about him; but propagated only in whif-
“ pers: some say, that he has lost all his horse;
“ which I take indeed to be true: others, that
“ the seventh Legion has been beaten; and that
“ he himself is besieged by the Bellovaci; and cut
“ off from the rest of his army. There is nothing
“ yet certain; nor are these uncertain stories pub-
“ licly talked of; but among the few, whom
“ you know, told openly, by way of secrets:
“ Domitius never mentions them, without clap-
“ ping his hand to his mouth. On the twenty-
“ first of May, the mob under the Rostra, sent
“ about a report, (may it fall on their own heads)
“ which was warmly propagated through the
“ Forum and the whole City, that you were
“ killed upon the road by Q. Pompeius: but I,
“ who knew him to be then at Bauli, and in such
“ a starving condition, that I could not help

“ pitying him , being forced to turn Pilot for his
“ bread , was not concerned about it ; and wished
“ only , that if any real dangers threatened you ,
“ we might be quit for this lie : your friend
“ Plancus Burfa is at Ravenna ; where he has had
“ a large donative from Cæſar ; but is not yet
“ eaſy , nor well provided. Your books on go-
“ vernment are applauded by all people ”.

M. T. Cicero , Proconſul , to M. Cælius.

“ How ! was it this , think you , that I charged
“ you with ; to ſend me the matches of Gladia-
“ tors ; the adjournments of cauſes ; and Chref-
“ tus’s news-letter ; and what nobody dares men-
“ tion to me when at Rome ? See , how much I
“ aſcribe to you in my judgment : nor indeed
“ without reaſon , for I have never yet met with
“ a better head for politics ; I would not have
“ you write what paſſes every day in public ,
“ though ever ſo important , unleſs it happen to
“ affect myſelf : others will write it ; many bring
“ accounts of it ; and fame itſelf convey a great
“ part to me : I expect from you , neither the
“ paſt , nor the preſent ; but as from one , who
“ ſees a great way before him , the future only ;
“ that when I have before me in your Letters
“ the plan of the Republic , I may be able to
“ judge what a ſort of Edifice it will be. Nor
“ have I hitherto indeed any cauſe to complain
“ of you ; for nothing has yet happened , which
“ you could foreſee better than any of us ; eſpe-

“ cially myself , who spent several days with
“ Pompey , in conversing on nothing else , but
“ the Republic ; which is neither possible nor
“ proper for me to explain by Letter : take this
“ only from me ; that Pompey is an excellent
“ Citizen , prepared both with courage and coun-
“ sel for all events , which can be foreseen :
“ wherefore, give yourself up to the man ; believe
“ me , he will embrace you ; for he now holds
“ the same opinion with us , of good and bad
“ Citizens. After I had been ten days at Athens ,
“ where our friend Gallus Caninius was much with
“ me , I left it on the sixth of July , when I sent
“ away this Letter : as I earnestly recommend
“ all my affairs to you , so nothing more particu-
“ larly , than that the time of my Provincial
“ Command be not prolonged : this is every thing
“ to me ; which , when and how , and by whom
“ it is to be managed , you will be the best able
“ to contrive. Adieu¹⁴.”

He landed at Ephesus on the twenty-second of July , after a slow but safe passage of fifteen days ; the tediousness of which was agreeably relieved by touching on the way at several of the islands of the Ægean See , of which he sends a kind of journal to Atticus¹⁵. Many deputations from the Cities of Asia , and a great concourse of people came to meet him as far as Samos ; but a much greater still was expecting his landing at Ephesus : the Greeks flocked eagerly from all parts , to see a man so celebrated through the empire , for the same of his learning and eloquence ; so that all

his boastings, as he merrily says, of many years past, were now brought to the test¹⁶. After reposing himself for three days at Ephesus, he marched forward towards his Province; and, on the last of July, arrived at Laodicea, one of the Capital Cities of his Jurisdiction. From this moment the date of his Government commenced; which he bids Atticus take notice of, that he might know how to compute the precise extent of his annual term¹⁷.

It was Cicero's resolution, in this Provincial Command, to practise those admirable rules, which he had drawn up formerly for his Brother; and from an employment wholly tedious and disagreeable to him to derive fresh glory upon his character, by leaving the innocence and integrity of his administration, as a pattern of governing to all succeeding Proconsuls. It had always been the custom, when any Governors went abroad to their Provinces, that the Countries, through which they passed, should defray all the charges of their journey: but Cicero no sooner set his foot on foreign ground, than he forbid all expence whatsoever, public or private, to be made either upon himself, or any of his company; which raised a great admiration of him, in all the cities of Greece¹⁸. In Asia he did the same; not suffering his officers to accept what was due to them even by law; forage and wood for firing, nor any thing else, but mere house-room, with four beds; which he remitted also, as oft as it was practicable, and obliged them to lodge in their tents;

and by his example and constant exhortations brought his Lieutenants, Tribunes, and Præfects, so fully into his measures, that they all concurred with him, he says, wonderfully, in a jealous concern for his honor¹⁹.

Being desirous to put himself at the head of his army, before the Season of action was over, he spent but little time in visiting the Cities of his jurisdiction, reserving the winter-months for settling the civil affairs of the Province²⁰. He went therefore to the Camp, at Iconium in Lycaonia, about the twenty-fourth of August; where he had no sooner reviewed the troops, than he received an account from Antiochus, King of Comagene, which was confirmed from the other Princes of those parts, that the Parthians had passed the Euphrates with a mighty force, in order to invade the Roman territory under the conduct of Pacorus, the King's son. Upon this news, he marched towards Cilicia, to secure his province from the inroads of the enemy, or any commotions within; but as all access to it was difficult, except on the side of Cappadocia, an open country, and not well provided; he took his rout through that Kingdom, and encamped in that part of it which bordered upon Cilicia, near to the town of Cybistra, at the foot of mount Taurus. His army, as it is said above, consisted of about twelve thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse, besides the auxiliary troops of the neighbouring states, and especially of Deiotarus, King of Galatia, the most faithful Ally of Rome, and Cicero's particular

friend; whose whole forces he could depend upon at any warning²¹.

While he lay in this Camp, he had an opportunity of executing a special commission, with which he was charged by the Senate; to take Ariobarzanes, King of Cappadocia, under his particular protection; and provide for the security of his person and government: in honor of whom, the Senate had decreed, what they had never done before to any foreign prince, that his safety was of great concern to the Senate and people of Rome. His Father had been killed by the treachery of his subjects, and a conspiracy of the same kind was apprehended against the son: Cicero therefore, in a council of his officers, gave the King an account of the Decree of the Senate, and that in consequence of it he was then ready to assist him with his troops and authority in any measures that should be concerted for the safety and quiet of his kingdom — The King, after great professions of his thanks, and duty to the Senate for the honor of their decree, and to Cicero himself for his care in the execution of it, said, that he knew no occasion for giving him any particular trouble at that time; nor had any suspicion of any design against his life or Crown: upon which Cicero, after congratulating him upon the tranquillity of his affairs, advised him, however, to remember his Father's fate, and, from the admonition of the Senate, to be particularly vigilant in the care of his person, and so they parted. But the next morning the king returned early to the Camp,

attended by his Brother and Counsellors, and with many tears implored the protection of Cicero and the benefit of the Senate's decree, declaring, "that he had received undoubted intelligence of a plot, which those, who were privy to it, durst not venture to discover till Cicero's arrival in the Country, but trusting to his authority, had now given full information of it; and that his Brother, who was present, and ready to confirm what he said, had been solicited to enter into it by the offer of the crown: he begged therefore, that some of Cicero's troops might be left with him for his better guard and defence. Cicero told him, that under the present alarm of the Parthian war, he could not possibly lend him any part of his army; that, since the conspiracy was detected, his own forces would be sufficient for preventing the effects of it; that he should learn to act the King, by showing a proper concern for his own life, and exert his regal power in punishing the authors of the plot, and pardoning all the rest; that he need not apprehend any farther danger, when his people were acquainted with the Senate's decree, and saw a Roman army so near to them, and ready to put it in execution:" and having thus encouraged and comforted the King, he marched towards Cilicia, and gave an account of this accident, and of the motions of the Parthians, in two public Letters to the Consuls and the Senate: he added a private Letter also to Cato, who was a particular favorem,

and Patron of Ariobarzanes, in which he informed him, “that he had not only secured the King’s
 “ person from any attempt, but had taken care,
 “ that he should reign for the future with honor
 “ and dignity, by restoring to his favor and ser-
 “ vice his old Counsellors, whom Cato had re-
 “ commended, and who had been disgraced by
 “ the intrigues of his Court; and by obliging a
 “ turbulent young priest of Bellona, who was
 “ the head of the Malecontents, and the next
 “ in power to the King himself, to quit the
 “ country.”

This King, Ariobarzanes, seems to have been poor even to a proverb:

Mancipiis locuples, eget aris Cappadocum rex.

Hor. Ep. I. 6.

for he had been miserably squeezed and drained by the Roman Generals and Governors: to whom he owed vast sums, either actually borrowed, or stipulated to be paid for particular services. It was a common practice with the Great of Rome, to lend money at an exorbitant interest, to the Princes and Cities, dependent on the Empire; which was thought an useful piece of policy to both sides; to the Princes, for the opportunity of engaging to their interests the most powerful men of the Republic, by a kind of honorable pension; to the Romans, for the convenience of placing their money where it was sure to bring the greatest return of profit. The ordinary interest of these

Provincial loans was, one per Cent. by the month, with interest upon interest : this was the lowest ; but, in extraordinary or hazardous cases, it was frequently four times as much. Pompey received monthly from this very King, above six thousand pounds sterling ; which yet was short of his full interest. Brutus also had lent him a very large sum, and earnestly desired Cicero to procure the payment of it, with the arrears of interest : but Pompey's agents were so pressing, and the King so needy, that though Cicero solicited Brutus's affair very heartily, he had little hopes of getting any thing for him : when Ariobarzanes came therefore to offer him the same present of money, which he had usually made to every other Governor, he generously refused it, and desired only, that instead of giving it to him, it might be paid to Brutus : but the poor Prince was so distressed, that he excused himself, by the necessity, which he was under, of satisfying some other more pressing demands ; so that Cicero gives a sad account of his negociation, in a long letter to Atticus, who had warmly recommended Brutus's interests to him.

“ I come now,” says he, “ to Brutus ; whom
“ by your authority I embraced with inclination,
“ and began even to love : but —— what am I
“ going to say ? I recal myself, lest I offend
“ you —— do not think, that I ever entered
“ into any thing more willingly, or took more
“ pains, than in what he recommended to me.
“ He gave me a memorial of the particulars,

“ which you had talked over with me before :
“ I pursued your instructions exactly: in the first
“ place, I pressed Ariobarzanes to give that mo-
“ ney to Brutus, which he promised to me: as
“ long as the King continued with me, all things
“ looked well, but he was afterwards teased by
“ six hundred of Pompey’s agents; and Pompey,
“ for other reasons, can do more with him than
“ all the world besides; but especially, when it
“ is imagined, that he is to be sent to the Par-
“ thian war: they now pay Pompey thirty-three
“ Attic talents per month, out of the taxes, though
“ this falls short of a month’s interest; but our
“ friend Cnæus takes it calmly; and is content
“ to abate something of the interest, without
“ pressing for the principal. As for others, he
“ neither does, nor can pay any man: for he
“ has no treasury, no revenues: he raises taxes
“ by Appius’s method of capitation; but these
“ are scarce sufficient for Pompey’s monthly pay:
“ two or three of the king’s friends are very
“ rich; but they hold their own as closely, as
“ either you or I—I do not forbear, however, to
“ ask, urge and chide him by letters: King Deio-
“ tarus also told me, that he had sent people to
“ him on purpose, to solicit for Brutus; but
“ they brought him word back, that he had real-
“ ly no money: which I take indeed to be the
“ case; that nothing is more drained than his
“ kingdom; nothing poorer than the King.”

But Brutus had recommended another affair
of the same nature to Cicero, which gave him

much more trouble. The City of Salamis in Cyprus owed to two of his friends, as he pretended, Scaptius and Matinius, above twenty thousand pounds sterling upon bond, at a most extravagant interest; and he begged of Cicero to take their persons and concerns under his special protection. Appius, who was Brutus's father-in-law, had granted every thing which was asked to Scaptius; a Præfecture in Cyprus, with some troops of horse, with which he miserably harassed the poor Salaminians, in order to force them to comply with his unreasonable demands; for he shut up their whole Senate in the council-room, till five of them were starved to death with hunger²⁴. Brutus labored to place him in the same degree of favor with Cicero: but Cicero being informed of this violence at Ephesus, by a deputation from Salamis, made it the first act of his government to recal the troops from Cyprus, and put an end to Scaptius's Præfecture, having laid it down for a rule, to grant no command to any man who was concerned in trade, or negotiating money in the Province: to give satisfaction, however, to Brutus, he enjoined the Salaminians to pay off Scaptius's bond, which they were ready to do according to the tenor of his edict, by which he had ordered, that no bonds in his province should carry above one per Cent. by the month. Scaptius refused to take the money on those terms, insisting on four per cent. as the condition of his bond expressed; which by computation almost doubled the principal sum; while the Salaminians,

as they protested to Cicero, could not have paid the original debt, if they had not been enabled to do it by his help, and out of his own dues, that he had remitted to them; which amounted to somewhat more than Scaptius's legal demand²⁵.

This extortion raised Cicero's indignation; and notwithstanding the repeated instances of Brutus and Atticus, he was determined to over-rule it; though Brutus, in order to move him the more effectually, thought proper to confess, what he had all along dissembled, that the debt was really his own, and Scaptius only his agent in it²⁶.

This surprised Cicero still more, and though he had a warm inclination to oblige Brutus, yet he could not consent to so flagrant an injustice, but makes frequent and heavy complaints of it in his letters to Atticus—"You have now," says he, in one of them, "the ground of my conduct; if Brutus does not approve it, I see no reason why we should love him; but I am sure, it will be approved by his uncle, Cato²⁷." In another; "If Brutus thinks that I ought to allow him four per Cent. when by edict I have decreed but one through all the province, and that to the satisfaction of the keenest usurers; if he complains, that I denied a Præfecture to one, concerned in trade, which I denied, for that reason, to your friend Lenius, and to Sex. Staius, though Torquatus solicited for the one, and Pompey himself for the other, yet without disgusting either of them; if he takes it ill, that I recalled the troops of horse out of

“ Cyprus; I shall be sorry indeed, that he has
“ any occasion to be angry with me; but much
“ more, not to find him the man that I took
“ him to be—I would have you to know how-
“ ever, that I have not forgot what you intimat-
“ ed to me in several of your Letters, that if I
“ brought back nothing else from the province
“ but Brutus’s friendship, that would be enough:
“ let it be so, since you will have it so; yet it
“ must always be with this exception; as far as
“ it can be done, without my committing any
“ wrong — ” In a third; “ How, my dear
“ Atticus! you who applaud my integrity and
“ good conduct, and are vexed sometimes, you
“ say, that you are not with me; how can such
“ a thing, as Ennius says, come out of your
“ mouth, to desire me to grant troops to Scap-
“ tius for the sake of extorting money? could
“ you, if you were with me, suffer me to do it,
“ if I would? ” — if I really had done such a
“ thing, with what face could I ever read again,
“ or touch those books of mine, with which you
“ are so much pleased ”? He tells him like-
wise in confidence, that all Brutus’s Letters to
him, even when he was asking favors, were un-
mannerly, churlish, and arrogant; without regard-
ing either what, or to whom he was writing; and
if he continued in that humor, you may love him
alone, says he, if you please, you shall have
no rival of me; but he will come, I believe, to
a better mind ³⁰. But to show, after all, what
a real inclination he had to oblige him, he never

left urging King Ariobarzanes, till he had squeezed from him a hundred talents, in part of Brutus's debt, or about twenty thousand pounds; the same sum probably, which had been destined to Cicero himself ³¹.

While he lay encamped in Cappadocia, expecting what way the Parthians would move, he received an account, that they had taken a different route, and were advanced to Antioch in Syria, where they held C. Cassius blocked up; and that a detachment of them had actually penetrated into Cilicia, but were routed, and cut off by those troops, which were left to guard the Country. Upon this he presently decamped, and by great journies over mount Taurus, marched in all haste to possess himself of the passes of Amanus; a great and strong mountain, lying between Syria and Cilicia, and the common boundary of them both. By this march, and the approach of his army to the neighbourhood of Syria, the Parthians being discouraged, retired from Antioch; which gave Cassius an opportunity of falling upon them in their retreat, and gaining a considerable advantage, in which one of their principal commanders, Osaces, was mortally wounded ³².

In the suspense of the Parthian war, which the late disgrace of Crassus had made terrible at Rome, Cicero's friends, who had no great opinion of his military talents, were in some pain for his safety and success; but now that he found himself engaged, and pushed to the necessity of acting the General, he seems to have wanted

neither the courage nor conduct of an experienced Leader. In a Letter to Atticus, dated from his Camp; "We are in great spirits," says he, "and as our counsels are good, have no distrust of an engagement: we are securely encamped, with plenty of provisions, and in fight almost of Cilicia; with a small army indeed, but, as I have reason to believe, entirely well affected to me; which I shall double by the accession of Deiotarus, who is upon the road to join me: I have the allies more firmly attached to me, than any Governor ever had: they are wonderfully taken with my easiness and abstinence; we are making new levies of Citizens, and establishing magazines: if there be occasion for fighting, we shall not decline it; if not, shall defend ourselves by the strength of our posts; wherefore be of good heart, for I see, as much as if you were with me, the sympathy of your love for me".

But the danger of the Parthians being over for this season, Cicero resolved, that his labor should not be lost, and his army dismissed, without attempting something of moment. The inhabitants of the mountains, close to which he now lay, were a fierce, untamed race of Banditti or Freebooters, who had never submitted to the Roman power, but lived in perpetual defiance of it, trusting to their forts and castles, which were supposed to be impregnable from the strength of their situation. He thought it therefore of no small importance to the Empire, to reduce them to a state of

subjection; and, in order to conceal his design, and take them unprovided, he drew off his forces on pretence of marching to the distant parts of Cilicia; but after a day's journey stopt short, and having refreshed his army, and left his baggage behind, turned back again in the night with the utmost celerity, and reached Amanus before day on the thirteenth of October. He divided his troops among his four Lieutenants; and himself, accompanied by his Brother, led up one part of them, and so coming upon the natives by surprise, they easily killed or made them all prisoners: they took six strong forts, and burned many more; but the capital of the mountain, Erana, made a brave resistance, and held out from break of day, to four in the afternoon. Upon this success Cicero was saluted Emperor, and sat down again at the foot of the hills, where he spent five days in demolishing the other strong holds, and wasting the lands of these Mountaineers. In this place his troops were lodged in the same Camp which Alexander the Great had formerly used, when he beat Darius at Issus; and where there remained three Altars; as the monument of his victory, which bore his name to that day: a circumstance, which furnished matter for some pleasantry, in his Letters to his friends at Rome³.

From Amanus, he led his army to an other part of the High-lands, the most disaffected to the Roman name, possessed by a stout and free people, who had never been subject even to the King of that Country. Their chief Town was called

called Pindenissum, situated on a steep and craggy hill, strongly fortified by nature and art, and provided with every thing necessary for defence: it was the constant refuge of all deserters, and the harbour of foreign enemies, and at that very time was expecting, and prepared to receive the Parthians: Cicero, resolving therefore to chastise their insolence, and bring them under the Roman yoke, laid siege to it in form; and though he pushed it on with all imaginable vigor, and a continual battery of his Engines, yet it cost him above six weeks to reduce it to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. The inhabitants were sold for slaves, and when Cicero was writing the account from his Tribunal, he had already raised about a hundred thousand pounds by that sale: all the other plunder, excepting the horses, was given to the soldiers. In his letter upon it to Atticus, the Pindenissians, says he, surrendered to me on the Saturnalia, after a siege of seven-and-forty days: but what, the plague, will you say, are these Pindenissians? I never heard of their name before——How can I help that? could I turn Cilicia into Ætolia or Macedonia? take this however for certain, that no man could do more, than I have done, with such an army, &c. ¹⁵. After this action, another neighbouring nation, of the same spirit and fierceness, called Tiburani, terrified by the fate of Pindenissum, voluntarily submitted, and gave hostages; so that Cicero sent his army into winter-quarters under the command of his Brother, into those parts of the province, which were thought the most turbulent ¹⁶.

While he was engaged in this expedition, Papirius Pætus, an eminent wit and Epicurean; with whom he had a particular intimacy and correspondence of facetious Letters, sent him some military instructions in the way of raillery; to which Cicero answered in the same jocular manner: "Your Letter," says he, "has made me a
" complete commander: I was wholly ignorant
" before of your great skill in the art of war; but
" perceive, that you have read Pyrrhus and Ci-
" neas. Wherefore I intend to follow your pre-
" cepts, and withal, to have some ships in rea-
" diness on the coast; for they deny that there
" can be any better defence against the Parthian
" horse. But raillery apart: you little think,
" what a General you have to deal with: for in
" this government, I have reduced to practice,
" what I had worn out before with reading, the
" whole institution of Cyrus, &c." These martial exploits spread Cicero's fame into Syria, where Bibulus was just arrived to take upon him the Command; but kept himself close within the gates of Antioch, till the Country was cleared of all the Parthians: his envy of Cicero's success, and title of Emperor, made him impatient to purchase the same honor by the same service, on the Syrian side of the mountain Amanus: but he had the misfortune to be repulsed in his attempt, with the entire loss of the first Cohort, and several officers of distinction, which Cicero calls an ugly blow both for the time and the effect of it¹⁸.

Though Cicero had obtained what he calls a

just victory at Amanus, and, in consequence of it, the appellation of Emperor, which he assumed from this time; yet he sent no public account of it to Rome, till after the affair of Pindenissum, an exploit of more eclat and importance; for which he expected the honor of a Thanksgiving, and began to entertain hopes even of a Triumph. His public Letter is lost, but that loss is supplied by a particular narrative of the whole action in a private Letter to Cato: the design of paying this compliment to Cato, was to engage his vote and concurrence to the decree of the Supplication; and by the pains, which he takes to obtain it, where he was sure of gaining his point without it, shows the high opinion which he had of Cato's authority, and how desirous he was to have the testimony of it on his side. But Cato was not to be moved from his purpose by compliment, or motives of friendship: he was an enemy by principle to all decrees of this kind, and thought them bestowed too cheaply, and prostituted to occasions unworthy of them: so that when Cicero's Letters came under deliberation, though he spoke with all imaginable honor and respect of Cicero, and highly extolled both his civil and military administration, yet he voted against the Supplication; which was decreed however without any other dissenting voice, except that of Favonius, who loved always to mimic Cato, and of Hirrus, who had a personal quarrel with Cicero: yet when the vote was over, Cato himself assisted in drawing up the decree, and had his name inserted in it;

which was the usual mark of a particular approbation of the thing, and friendship to the person in whose favor it passed³⁹. But Cato's answer to Cicero's Letter will show the temper of the man, and the grounds on which he acted on this occasion.

M. Cato to M. T. Cicero, Emperor.

“ In compliance with what both the Republic and our private friendship require of me, I rejoice that your virtue, innocence, diligence, approved in the greatest affairs, exerts itself every-where with equal vigor; at home in the gown, abroad in arms. I did all therefore, that I could do, agreeably to my own judgment, when, in my vote and speech, I ascribed to your innocence and good conduct the defence of your province, the safety of the kingdom and person of Ariobarzanes; the recovery of the allies to their duty and affection to our Empire. I am glad, however, that a Supplication is decreed; if, where chance had no part, but the whole was owing to your consummate prudence and moderation, you are better pleased, that we should hold ourselves indebted to the Gods, than to you. But if you think that a Supplication will pave the way to a Triumph, and for that reason chuse, that fortune should have the praise, rather than yourself; yet a Triumph does not always follow a Supplication, and it is much more

“ honorable than any Triumph, for the Senate to
“ decree, that a Province is preserved to the
“ Empire by the mildness and innocence of the
“ General, rather than by the force of arms,
“ and the favor of the Gods. This was the pur-
“ pose of my vote; and I have now employed
“ more words, than it is my custom to do, that
“ you might perceive, what I chiefly wish to testi-
“ fy, how desirous I am to convince you, that in
“ regard to your glory, I had a mind to do what
“ I took to be the most honorable for you; yet
“ rejoice to see that done which you are the
“ most pleased with. Adieu, and still love me;
“ and agreeably to the course, which you have
“ begun, continue your integrity and diligence
“ to the allies, and the Republic “.

Cæsar was delighted to hear of Cato's stiffness, in hopes that it would create a coldness between him and Cicero; and in a congratulatory Letter to Cicero, upon the success of his arms, and the Supplication decreed to him, took care to aggravate the rudeness and ingratitude of Cato “. Cicero himself was highly disgusted at it; especially when Cato soon afterwards voted a Supplication to his Son-in-law, Bibulus, who had done much less to deserve it. Cato, says he, was shamefully malicious; he gave me what I did not ask, a character of integrity, justice, clemency; but denied me what I did — yet this same man voted a Supplication of twenty days to Bibulus: pardon me, if I cannot bear this usage — “ yet as he had a good opinion of Cato in the main, and a farther suit

to make to the Senate, in the demand of a Triumph, he chose to dissemble his resentment, and returned him a civil answer, to signify his satisfaction and thanks for what he had thought fit to do⁴³.

Cicero's campaign ended just so, as Cælius had wished in one of his Letters to him; with fighting enough to give a claim to the laurel; yet without the risk of a battle with the Parthians⁴⁴. During these months of action, he sent away the two young Ciceros, the son and nephew, to King Deiotarus's court, under the conduct of the King's son, who came on purpose to invite them: they were kept strictly to their books and exercises, and made great proficiency in both; though the one of them, as Cicero says, wanted the bit, the other the spur: their Tutor Dionysius attended them, a man of great learning and probity, but, as his young pupils complained, horribly passionate⁴⁵. Deiotarus himself was setting forward to join Cicero with all his forces, upon the first news of the Parthian irruption: he had with him thirty cohorts, of four hundred men each, armed, and disciplined after the Roman manner, with two thousand horse: but the Parthian alarm being over, Cicero sent Couriers to meet him on the road, in order to prevent his marching to no purpose, so far from his own dominion⁴⁶: the old King, however, seems to have brought the children back again in person, for the opportunity of paying his compliments, and spending some time with his friend; for, by what Cicero intimates, they appear to have had an interview⁴⁷.

The remaining part of Cicero's Government was employed in the civil affairs of the Province: where his whole care was to ease the several cities and districts of that excessive load of debts, in which the avarice and rapaciousness of former governors had involved them. He laid it down for the first rule of his administration, not to suffer any money to be expended either upon himself or his officers: And when one of his Lieutenants, L. Tullius, in passing through the country, exacted only the forage and firing, which was due by law; and that but once a day, and not, as all others had done before, from every Town and Village through which they passed, he was much out of humor, and could not help complaining of it, as a stain upon his Government, since none of his people besides had taken even a single farthing. All the wealthier Cities of the Province used to pay to all their Proconsuls large contributions for being exempted from furnishing winter-quarters to the army: Cyprus alone paid yearly on this single account two hundred talents, or about forty thousand pounds: but Cicero remitted this whole tax to them, which alone made a vast revenue; and applied all the customary perquisites of his office to the relief of the oppressed Province: yet for all his services and generosity, which amazed the poor people, he would accept no honors, but what were merely verbal; prohibiting all expensive monuments, as Statues, Temples, brazen horses, &c. which, by the flattery of Asia, used to be erected of course to all Governors,

though ever so corrupt and oppressive. While he was upon his visitation of the Asiatic Districts, there happened to be a kind of famine in the country; yet wherever he came, he not only provided for his family at his own expense, but prevailed with the Merchants and Dealers, who had any quantity of corn in their store-houses, to supply the people with it on easy terms⁴⁸; living himself, all the while, splendidly and hospitably, and keeping an open table, not only for all the Roman officers, but the Gentry of the Province⁴⁹. In the following Letter to Atticus, he gives him a summary view of his manner of governing.

“ I see, says he, that you are much pleased
“ with my moderation and abstinence; but you
“ would be more so, if you were with me;
“ especially at Laodicea; where I did wonders at
“ the sessions, which I have just held, for the
“ affairs of the Dioceſes, from the thirteenth of
“ February to the first of May. Many cities are
“ wholly freed from all their debts; many great-
“ ly eased; and all, by being allowed to govern
“ themselves by their own laws, have recovered
“ new life. There are two ways, by which I
“ have put them into a capacity of freeing, or
“ of easing themselves at least of their debts;
“ the one is by suffering no expense at all to be
“ made on the account of my government.
“ When I say none at all, I speak not hyperbo-
“ lically; there is not so much as a farthing: it
“ is incredible to think, what relief they have
“ found from this single article. The other is

“ this; their own Greek Magistrates had strange-
“ ly abused and plundered them. I examined
“ every one of them, who had born any office
“ for ten years past: they all plainly confessed;
“ and, without the ignominy of a public con-
“ viction, made restitution of the money, which
“ they had pillaged: so that the people, who
“ had paid nothing to our farmers for the present
“ Lustrum, have now paid the arrears of the
“ last, even without murmuring. This has
“ placed me in high favor with the Publicans,
“ a grateful set of men, you will say: I have really
“ found them such—the rest of my jurisdiction
“ shall be managed with the same address; and
“ create the same admiration of my clemency
“ and easiness. There is no difficulty of access
“ to me, as there is to all other Provincial Go-
“ vernors; no introduction by my Chamber-
“ lain: I am always up before day, and walking
“ in my Hall, with my doors open, as I used
“ to do, when a Candidate at Rome: this is
“ great and gracious here; though not at all trou-
“ blefome to me, from my old habit and disci-
“ pline — &c. ”.

This method of governing gave no small umbrage to Appius; who considered it as a reproach upon himself, and sent several querulous Letters to Cicero, because he had reversed some of his constitutions: “ And no wonder,” says Cicero, “ that he is displeased with my manner, for
“ what can be more unlike, than his administra-
“ tion and mine? under him the Province was

“drained by expenses and exactions; under me,
“not a penny levied for public or private use:
“what shall I say of his Præfects, attendants,
“Lieutenants? of their plunders, rapines, inju-
“ries? whereas now, there is not a single fami-
“ly governed with such order, discipline, and
“modesty, as my Province. This some of Ap-
“pius’s friends interpret ridiculously; as if I was
“taking pains to exalt my own character, in
“order to depress his; and doing all this, not
“for the sake of my own credit, but of his dis-
“grace¹. ” But the truth was, that from
the time of his reconciliation with Appius, he
had a sincere desire to live on good terms with
him; as well out of regard to the splendor of his
birth and fortunes, as to his great alliances; for
one of his daughters was married to Pompey’s son,
and another to Brutus²: so that, though their
principles and maxims were totally different, yet
he took care to do every thing with the greatest
professions of honor and respect towards Appius,
even when he found it necessary to rescind his
decrees; considering himself only, he says, as a
second Physician called in to a case of sickness,
where he found it necessary to change the method
of cure, and when the Patient had been brought
low by evacuations, and blood-letting, to apply
all kinds of lenitive and restoring medicines³.

As soon as the Government of Cilicia was
allotted to him, he acquainted Appius with it by
Letter, begging of him, that, as no man could
succeed to it with a more friendly disposition than

himself, so Appius would deliver up the Province to him, in such a condition, as one friend would expect to receive it from another⁵⁴: in answer to which, Appius, having intimated some desire of an interview, Cicero took occasion to press it with much earnestness, as a thing of great service to them both; and that it might not be defeated, gave him an account of all his stages and motions, and offered to regulate them in such a manner, as to make the place of their meeting the most agreeable to Appius's convenience: but Appius being disgusted by the first edicts which Cicero published, resolved for that reason to disappoint him; and as Cicero advanced into the Province, retired still to the remoter parts of it, and contrived to come upon him at last so suddenly, that Cicero had not warning enough given to go out and meet him; which Appius laid hold of, as a fresh ground of complaint against Cicero's pride, for refusing that common piece of respect to him⁵⁵.

This provoked Cicero to expostulate with him, with great spirit — “I was informed,” says he, “by one of my Apparitors, that you complained
“of me for not coming out to meet you: I
“despised you, it seems, so as nothing could be
“prouder — when your servant came to me near
“midnight, and told me, that you would be with
“me at Iconium before day, but could not say,
“by which road, when there were two; I sent out
“your friend Varro by the one, and Q. Lepta, the
“Commander of my Artillery, by the other, with

“ instructions to each of them to bring me
“ timely notice of your approach, that I might
“ come out in person to meet you. Lepta came
“ running back presently in all haste to acquaint
“ me, that you had already passed by the Camp;
“ upon which I went directly to Iconium, where
“ you know the rest. Did I then refuse to come
“ out to you? to Appius Claudius; to an Emperor,
“ then, according to ancient custom: and above
“ all to my friend? I, who of all men am apt to
“ do more in that way than becomes my dignity?
“ but enough of this. The same man told me
“ likewise, that you said, What! Appius went out
“ to meet Lentulus; Lentulus to Appius; but
“ Cicero would not come out to Appius. Can
“ you then be guilty of such impertinence? a man,
“ in my judgment, of the greatest prudence,
“ learning, experience; and I may add politeness
“ too, which the Stoics rightly judge to be a
“ virtue?” do you imagine, that your Appius
“ and Lentulus are of more weight with me
“ than the ornaments of virtue? before I had
“ obtained those honors, which, in the opinion
“ of the world, are thought to be the greatest, I
“ never fondly admired those names of yours: I
“ looked indeed upon those, who had left them
“ to you, as great men; but after I had acquired,
“ and born the highest Commands, so as to have
“ nothing more to desire, either of honor or glory,
“ I never indeed considered myself as your superior,
“ but hoped, that I was become your equal: nor
“ did Pompey, whom I prefer to all men, who
“ ever lived, nor Lentulus, whom I prefer to

“ myself, think otherwise: if you, however, are of
 “ a different opinion, it will do you no harm to
 “ read with some attention what Athenodorus says
 “ on this subject, that you may learn wherein true
 “ nobility consists. But to return to the point: I
 “ desire you to look upon me, not only as your
 “ friend, but a most affectionate one: it shall be
 “ my care by all possible services to convince you,
 “ that I am truly so: but if you have a mind to
 “ let people see, that you are less concerned for
 “ my interest, in my absence, than my pains
 “ for yours deserved, I free you from that
 “ trouble;

“ *For I have friends enough to serve and love*

“ *Both me and mine, and above all Great Jove.*

Ib. i. 174.

“ but if you are naturally querulous, you shall
 “ not still hinder my good offices and wishes for
 “ you: all that you will do, is to make me less
 “ solicitous how you take them. I have written
 “ this with more than my usual freedom, from the
 “ consciousness of my duty and affection, which
 “ being contracted by choice and judgment, it
 “ will be in your power to preserve, as long as
 “ you think proper. Adieu “.”

Cicero's Letters to Appius make one book of
 his familiar Epistles, the greatest part of which
 are of the expostulatory kind, on the subject of
 their mutual jealousies and complaints: in this
 slippery state of their friendship, an accident

happened at Rome, which had like to have put an end to it. His daughter Tullia, after parting from her second husband Crassipes, as it is probably thought, by divorce⁵⁷, was married in her father's absence to a third, P. Cornelius Dolabella: several parties had been offered to her, and among them T. Claudius Nero, who afterwards married Livia, whom Augustus took away from him: Nero made his proposals to Cicero in Cilicia, who referred him to the women, to whom he had left the management of that affair: but before those overtures reached them, they had made up the match with Dolabella, being mightily taken with his complaisant and obsequious address⁵⁸. He was a nobleman of Patrician descent, and of great parts and politeness; but of a violent, daring, ambitious temper, warmly attached to Cæsar; and by a life of pleasure and expense, which the prudence of Tullia, it was hoped, would correct, greatly distressed in his fortunes; which made Cicero very uneasy, when he came afterwards to know it⁵⁹. Dolabella, at the time of his marriage, for which he made way also by the divorce of his first wife⁶⁰, gave a proof of his enterprising genius, by impeaching Appius Claudius, of practices against the state, in his government of Cilicia, and of bribery and corruption in his suit for the Consulship. This put a great difficulty upon Cicero, and made it natural to suspect, that he privately favored the impeachment, where the Accuser was his son-in-law: but in clearing himself of it to Appius, though he dissembled a little perhaps in disclaiming

any part or knowledge of that match, yet he was very sincere, in professing himself an utter stranger to the impeachment, and was in truth greatly disturbed at it. But as from the circumstance of his succeeding to Appius in his Government, he was of all men the most capable of serving or hurting him at the trial; so Pompey, who took great pains to screen Appius, was extremely desirous to engage him on their side, and had thoughts of sending one of his sons to him for that purpose: but Cicero saved them that trouble, by declaring early and openly for Appius, and promising every thing from the Province that could possibly be of service to him; which he thought himself obliged to do the more forwardly, to prevent any suspicion of treachery to his friend, on the account of his new alliance⁶¹: so that Appius, instead of declining a trial, contrived to bring it on as soon as he could; and with that view, having dropt his pretensions to a Triumph, entered the City, and offered himself to his Judges, before his Accuser was prepared for him, and was acquitted without any difficulty of both the indictments.

In a little time after his trial he was chosen Cenfor, together with Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, the last who bore that office during the freedom of the Republic. Clodius's law, mentioned above, which had greatly restrained the power of these Magistrates, was repealed the last year by Scipio, the Consul, and their ancient authority restored to them⁶², which was now exercised with great

rigor by Appius: who though really a libertine, and remarkable for indulging himself in all the luxury of life, yet by an affectation of severity, hoped to retrieve his character, and pass for an admirer of that ancient discipline, for which many of his ancestors had been celebrated. Cælius gives a pleasant account of him to Cicero; "Do you know," says he, "that the Cenfor Appius is doing wonders amongst us, about statues and pictures, the number of our acres, and the payment of debts? he takes the Censorship for soap or nitre, and thinks to scour himself clean with it; but he is mistaken; for while he is laboring to wash out his stains, he opens his very veins and bowels, and lets us see him the more intimately: run away to us by all the Gods, to laugh at these things: Drusus sits Judge upon Adultery, by the Scantinian law: Appius on statues and pictures". But this vain and unseasonable attempt of reformation, instead of doing any good, served only to alienate people from Pompey's cause, with whom Appius was strictly allied: whilst his Colleague Piso, who foresaw that effect, chose to sit still, and suffer him to disgrace the Knights and Senators at pleasure, which he did with great freedom, and among others, turned Sallust, the Historian, out of the Senate, and was hardly restrained from putting the same affront upon Curio, which added still more friends and strength to Cæsar.

As to the public news of the year, the grand affair, that engaged all people's thoughts, was
the

the expectation of a breach between Cæsar and Pompey, which seemed now unavoidable, and in which all men were beginning to take part, and ranging themselves on the one side or the other. On Pompey's there was a great majority of the Senate and the Magistrates, with the better sort of all ranks: on Cæsar's, all the criminal and obnoxious, all who had suffered punishment or deserved it; the greatest part of the youth, and the City-mob; some of the popular Tribunes, and all who were oppressed with debts; who had a Leader fit for their purpose, daring, and well provided, and wanting nothing but a cause. This is Cicero's account; and Cælius's is much the same: I see, says he, that Pompey will have the Senate, and all who judge of things; Cæsar, all who live in fear and uneasiness; but there is no comparison between their armies⁶⁶. Cæsar had put an end to the Gallic war, and reduced the whole Province to the Roman yoke: but though his commission was near expiring, he seemed to have no thoughts of giving it up, and returning to the condition of a private subject: he pretended that he could not possibly be safe if he parted with his army, especially while Pompey held the Province of Spain, prolonged to him for five years⁶⁶. The Senate, in the mean while, in order to make him easy, had consented to let him take the Consulship, without coming to sue for it in person: but when that did not satisfy him, the Consul, M. Marcellus, one of his fiercest enemies, moved them to abrogate his Command directly,

and appoint him a successor; and since the war was at an end, to oblige him to disband his troops, and to come likewise in person to sue for the Consulship, nor to allow the freedom of the City to his Colonies beyond the Po: this related particularly to a favorite Colony, which Cæsar, when Consul, had settled at Comum, at the foot of the Alps, with the freedom of the City granted to it by the Vatinian law⁶⁷. All the other Colonies on that side of the Po had before obtained from Pompey's father the rights of Latium, that is, the freedom of Rome to those who had born an annual Magistracy in them: but M. Marcellus, out of a singular enmity to Cæsar, would allow no such right to his Colony of Comum; and having caught a certain Comensian Magistrate, who was acting the Citizen at Rome, he ordered him to be seized, and publicly whipt; an indignity, from which all Citizens were exempted by law; bidding the man go and show these marks of his Citizenship to Cæsar⁶⁸. Cicero condemns this act as violent and unjust; Marcellus, says he, behaved shamefully in the case of the Comensian: for if the man had never been a Magistrate, he was yet of a Colony beyond the Po, so that Pompey will not be less shocked at it than Cæsar himself⁶⁹.

The other Consul, Serv. Sulpicius, was of a more candid and moderate temper; and being unwilling to give such a handle for a civil war, opposed and over-ruled the motions of his Colleague, by the help of some of the Tribunes: nor

was Pompey himself disposed to proceed so violently, or to break with Cæsar on that foot; but thought it more plausible to let his term run out, and his command expire of itself, and so throw upon him the odium of turning his arms against his Country, if he should resolve to act against the Senate and the laws. This counsel prevailed after many warm contestations, in which the summer was chiefly spent, and a decree was offered on the last of September, “ That the
“ Consuls elect, L. Paullus and C. Marcellus
“ should move the Senate on the first of March,
“ to settle the Consular Provinces; and if any
“ Magistrate should interpose, to hinder the effect
“ of their decrees, that he should be deemed an
“ enemy to the Republic; and if any one actually
“ interposed, that this vote and resolution should
“ be entered into the Journals, to be considered
“ some other time by the Senate, and laid also
“ before the people.” But four of the Tribunes gave their joint negative to this decree, C. Cælius, L. Vinicius, P. Cornelius, and C. Vibius Pansa. In the course of these debates, Pompey, who affected great moderation in whatever he said of Cæsar, was teased and urged on all sides to make an explicit declaration of his sentiments. When he called it unjust to determine any thing about Cæsar’s Government, before the first of March, the term prescribed to it by law, being asked, “ What, if any one should then put a negative
“ upon them?” he said, “ there was no difference
“ whether Cæsar refused to obey the decrees of

“ the Senate, or provided men to obstruct them.
“ What,” says another, “ if he should insist upon
“ being Consul, and holding his Province too?
“ What,” replied Pompey, “ if my son should
“ take a stick and cudgel me ”? ” intimating
the one to be as incredible, and as impious as
the other.

Cicero's friend Cælius obtained the Ædile-
ship this Summer from his Competitor Hirrus,
the same who had opposed Cicero in the Augur-
ate, and whose disappointment gave occasion to
many jokes between them in their Letters”. In
this Magistracy, it being customary to procure
wild beasts of all kinds from different parts of the
Empire for the entertainment of the City, Cælius
begged of Cicero to supply him with Panthers from
Cilicia, and to employ the Cybarites, a people of
his Province famed for hunting, to catch them:
for it would be a reflection upon you, says he,
when Curio had ten Panthers from that Country,
not to let me have many more. He recommends to
him at the same time M. Feridius, a Roman Knight,
who had an Estate in Cilicia, charged with some
services or quit-rent to the neighbouring Cities,
which he begs of him to get discharged, so as to
make the lands free ”: he seems also to have de-
sired Cicero's consent to his levying certain con-
tributions upon the Cities of his Province, to-
wards defraying the expense of his shows at Rome;
a prerogative, which the Ædiles always claimed,
and sometimes practised; though it was denied
to them by some Governors, and particularly by

Quintus Cicero in Asia, upon the advice of his Brother⁷³: in answer to all which Cicero replied, “ that he was sorry to find that his actions
“ were so much in the dark, that it was not yet
“ known at Rome, that not a farthing had been
“ exacted in his Province, except for the payment
“ of just debts: that it was neither fit for him
“ to extort money, nor for Cælius to take it,
“ if it were designed for himself; and admonished him, who had undertaken the part of
“ accusing others, to live himself with more caution — and as to Panthers, that it was not consistent with his character to impose the charge
“ of hunting them upon the poor people⁷⁴. ”

But though he would not break his rules for the sake of his friend, yet he took care to provide Panthers for him at his own expense, and says pleasantly upon it, that the Beasts made a sad complaint against him, and resolved to quit the country, since no snares were laid in his Province for any other Creature but themselves⁷⁵.

Curio likewise obtained the Tribunate this Summer, which he sought with no other design, as many imagined, than for the opportunity of mortifying Cæsar, against whom he had hitherto acted with great fierceness⁷⁶. But Cicero, who knew from the temper and views of them both, how easy it would be to make up matters between them, took occasion to write a congratulatory Letter to him upon this advancement, in which he exhorts him with great gravity, “ to consider
“ into what a dangerous crisis this Tribunate had

“ fallen, not by chance, but his own choice;
 “ what violence of the times, what variety of
 “ dangers, hung over the Republic; how uncer-
 “ tain the events of things were, how change-
 “ able men’s minds, how much treachery and
 “ falshood in human life — he begs of him there-
 “ fore to beware of entering into any new coun-
 “ sels, but to pursue and defend, what he him-
 “ self thought right, and not suffer himself to be
 “ drawn away by the advice of others” — referring
 without doubt to M. Antony, the chief compa-
 nion and corrupter of his youth: in the conclu-
 sion, he conjures him, to “ employ his present
 “ power to hinder his Provincial trouble from
 “ being prolonged by any new act of the Se-
 “ nate” — ” Cicero’s suspicions were soon con-
 firmed by Letters from Rome; whence Cælius
 sent him word of Curio’s changing fides, and de-
 claring himself for Cæsar: in answer to which,
 Cicero says, the last page of your Letter in your
 own hand really touched me. What do you say? is
 Curio turned advocate for Cæsar? who would have
 thought it besides myself? for let me die, if I did
 not expect it! Good Gods, how much do I long
 to be laughing with you at Rome ”?

A. Urb. 703. The new Consuls being Cicero’s particular friends,
 Cic. 57. he wrote congratulatory Letters to them both
 Coff. upon their election, in which he begged the con-
 L. ÆMILIUS currence of their authority to the decree of his
 PAULLUS, supplication; and what he had more at heart, that
 C. CLAU- they would not suffer any prolongation of his
 DIUS MAR- annual term; in which they readily obliged him, and
 CELLUS.

received his thanks also by letter for that favor ⁷⁹. It was expected, that something decisive would now be done in relation to the two Gauls, and the appointment of a successor to Cæsar, since both the Consuls were supposed to be his enemies: but all attempts of that kind were still frustrated by the intrigues of Cæsar; for when C. Marcellus began to renew the same motion, which his kinsman had made the year before, he was obstructed by his Colleague Paullus, and the Tribune Curio, whom Cæsar had privately gained by immense bribes, to suffer nothing prejudicial to his interest to pass during their Magistracy ⁸⁰. He is said to have given Paullus about three hundred thousand pounds, and to Curio much more ⁸¹. The first wanted it to defray the charges of those splendid buildings, which he had undertaken to raise at his own cost: the second, to clear himself of the load of his debts, which amounted to about half a million ⁸², for he had wasted his great fortunes so effectually in a few years, that he had no other revenue left, as Pliny says, but in the hopes of a civil war ⁸³. These facts are mentioned by all the Roman writers;

*Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
Gallorum captus spoliis & Cæsaris auro—*

Lucan. 4. 819.

*Caught by the spoils of Gaul and Cæsar's gold,
Curio turn'd traitor, and his country sold.*

and Servius applies that passage of Virgil, *Vendidi*

O 4

hic auro patriam, to the case of Curio's selling Rome to Cæsar.

Cicero in the mean time was expecting with impatience the expiration of his annual term, but before he could quit the Province, he was obliged to see the account of all the money, which had passed through his own or his officers' hands, stated and balanced; and three fair copies provided, two to be deposited in two of the principal Cities of his Jurisdiction, and a third in the Treasury at Rome. That his whole administration therefore might be of a piece, he was very exact and punctual in acquitting himself of this duty, and would not indulge his officers in the use of any public money beyond the legal time, or above the sum prescribed by law, as appears from his Letters to some of them who desired it ". Out of the annual revenue, which was decreed to him for the use of the Province, he remitted to the Treasury all that he had not expended, to the amount of above eight hundred thousand pounds. " This, " says he, " makes my whole company " groan; they imagined, that it should have " been divided among themselves, as if I ought " to have been a better manager for the treasuries of Phrygia and Cilicia, than for our own. " But they did not move me; for my own honor weighed with me the most: yet I have " not been wanting to do every thing in my " power that is honorable and generous to them " all ". "

His last concern was, to what hands he should

commit the Government of his Province upon his leaving it, since there was no successor appointed by the Senate on account of the heats among them about the case of Cæsar, which disturbed all their debates, and interrupted all other business. He had no opinion of his Quæstor, C. Cælius, a young man of noble birth, but of no great virtue or prudence; and was afraid, after his glorious administration, that by placing so great a trust in one of his character, he should expose himself to some censure. But he had nobody about him of superior rank, who was willing to accept it, and did not care to force it upon his Brother, lest that might give a handle to suspect him of some interest or partiality in the choice. He dropt the Province therefore, after some deliberation, into Cælius's hands, and set forward immediately upon his journey towards Italy.

But before he quitted Asia, he begged of Atticus by Letter to send him a particular detail of all the news of the City — “ There are odious reports,” says he, “ about Curio and Paullus; not that I see any danger while Pompey stands, or I may say indeed, while he sits, if he has but his health; but in truth, I am sorry for my friends Curio and Paullus. If you are now therefore at Rome, or as soon as you come thither, I would have you send me a plan of the whole Republic, which may meet me on the road, that I may form myself upon it, and resolve what temper to assume on my coming to the City: for it is some advantage not to

“ come thither a mere stranger ⁸⁷. ” We see what a confidence he placed in Pompey, on whom indeed their whole prospect either of peace with Cæsar, or of success against him, depended: as to the intimation about his health, it is expressed more strongly in another Letter; All our hopes, says he, hang upon the life of one man, who is attacked every year by a dangerous fit of sickness ⁸⁸. His constitution seems to have been peculiarly subject to fevers; the frequent returns of which, in the present situation of affairs, gave great apprehension to all his party: in one of those fevers, which threatened his life for many days successively, all the Towns of Italy put up public prayers for his safety; an honor, which had never been paid before to any man, while Rome was free ⁸⁹.

Upon taking leave of Cilicia, Cicero paid a visit to Rhodes, for the sake, he says, of the children ⁹⁰. His design was to give them a view of that flourishing Isle; and a little exercise perhaps in that celebrated School of eloquence, where he himself had studied with so much success under Molo. Here he received the news of Hortensius's death ⁹¹, which greatly affected him, by recalling to his mind the many glorious struggles that they had sustained together at the Bar, in their competition for the prize of eloquence. Hortensius reigned absolute in the Forum, when Cicero first entered it; and as his superior fame was the chief spur to Cicero's industry, so the shining specimen, which Cicero soon gave of him-

self, made Hortensius likewise the brighter for it, by obliging him to exert all the force of his genius to maintain his ground against his young Rival. They passed a great part of their lives in a kind of equal contest and emulation of each other's merit: but Hortensius, by the superiority of his years, having first passed through the usual gradation of public honors, and satisfied his ambition by obtaining the highest, began to relax somewhat of his old contention, and give way to the charms of ease and luxury, to which his nature strongly inclined him²², till he was forced at last, by the general voice of the City, to yield the post of honor to Cicero; who never lost sight of the true point of glory, nor was ever diverted by any temptation of pleasure from his steady course and laborious pursuit of virtue. Hortensius published several orations which were extant long after his death; and it were much to be wished, that they had remained to this day, to enable us to form a judgment of the different talents of these two great men: but they are said to have owed a great part of their credit to the advantage of his action, which yet was thought to have more of art than was necessary to an Orator, so that his compositions were not admired so much by the Reader, as they had been by the Hearer²³; while Cicero's more valued productions made all others of that kind less sought for, and consequently the less carefully preserved. Hortensius however was generally allowed by the Ancients, and by Cicero himself, to have possessed every accom-

plishment, which could adorn an Orator; elegance of style; art of composition; fertility of invention; sweetness of elocution; gracefulness of action⁹⁴. These two Rivals lived, however, always with great civility and respect towards each other, and were usually in the same way of thinking and acting in the affairs of the Republic; till Cicero, in the case of his exile, discovered the plain marks of a lurking envy and infidelity in Hortensius: yet his resentment carried him no farther than to some free complaints of it to their common friend Atticus, who made it his business to mitigate this disgust, and hinder it from proceeding to an open breach; so that Cicero, being naturally placable, lived again with him after his return on the same easy terms as before, and lamented his death at this time with great tenderness, not only as the private loss of a friend, but a public misfortune to his Country, in being deprived of the service and authority of so experienced a statesman at so critical a conjuncture⁹⁵.

From Rhodes he passed on to Ephesus, whence he set sail on the first of October, and after a tedious passage landed at Athens on the fourteenth⁹⁶. Here he lodged again in his old quarters, at the house of his friend Aristus. His Predecessor, Appius, who passed also through Athens on his return, had ordered a new Portico or Vestibule to be built at his cost to the Temple of the Eleusinian Ceres; which suggested a thought likewise to Cicero of adding some ornament of the same kind to the Academy, as a public monument of

his name, as well as of his affection for the place: for he hated, he says, those false inscriptions of other people's statues⁹⁷, with which the Greeks used to flatter their new Masters, by effacing the old titles, and inscribing them anew to the great men of Rome. He acquainted Atticus with his design, and desired his opinion upon it: but in all probability, it was never executed, since his stay at Athens was now very short, and his thoughts wholly bent on Italy: for as all his Letters confirmed to him the certainty of a war, in which he must necessarily bear a part, so he was impatient to be at home, that he might have the clearer view of the state of affairs, and take his measures with the greater deliberation⁹⁸. Yet he was not still without hopes of peace, and that he should be able to make up the quarrel between the chiefs; for he was, of all men, the best qualified to effect it, on account not only of his authority, but of his intimate friendship with them both; who severally paid great court to him at this time, and reckoned upon him as their own, and wrote to him with a confidence of his being a determined friend⁹⁹.

In his voyage from Athens towards Italy, Tiro, one of his slaves, whom he soon after made free, happened to fall sick, and was left behind at Patræ to the care of friends and a physician. The mention of such an accident will seem trifling to those who are not acquainted with the character and excellent qualities of Tiro, and how much we are indebted to him for preserving and transmit-

ting to posterity the precious collection of Cicero's Letters, of which a great part still remain, and one entire book of them written to Tiro himself; several of which relate to the subject of this very illness. Tiro was trained up in Cicero's family, among the rest of his young slaves, in every kind of useful and polite learning, and being a youth of singular parts and industry, soon became an eminent Scholar, and extremely serviceable to his master in all his affairs both civil and domestic. "As for Tiro," says he to Atticus, "I see you
" have a concern for him: though he is wonderfully useful to me, when he is well, in
" every kind both of my business, and studies,
" yet I wish his health more, for his own humanity and modesty, than for any service which I
" reap from him¹⁰⁰." But his Letters to Tiro himself will best show what an affectionate master he was: for from the time of leaving him, he never failed writing to him by every messenger or ship which passed that way, though it were twice or thrice a day, and often sent one of his servants express to bring an account of his health: the first of these Letters will give us a notion of the rest.

M. T. Cicero to Tiro.

" I thought that I should have been able to
" bear the want of you more easily; but in truth
" I cannot bear it: and though it is of great importance to my expected honor, to be at Rome
" as soon as possible, yet I seem to have commit-

“ ted a sin when I left you. But since you were
“ utterly against proceeding, in the voyage till
“ your health was confirmed, I approved your
“ resolution : nor do I now think otherwise, if
“ you continue in the same mind. But after you
“ have begun to take meat again, if you think
“ that you shall be able to overtake me, that is
“ left to your consideration. I have sent Mario
“ to you with instructions, either to come with
“ you to me as soon as you can, or if you should
“ stay longer, to return instantly without you.
“ Assure yourself, however, of this, that, as far
“ as it can be convenient to your health, I wish
“ nothing more than to have you with me ; but
“ if it be necessary for the perfecting your reco-
“ very, to stay a while longer at Patræ ; that I
“ wish nothing more than to have you well. If
“ you sail immediately, you will overtake me at
“ Leucas : but if you stay to establish your health,
“ take care to have good company, good wea-
“ ther, and a good vessel. Observe this one
“ thing, my Tiro, if you love me, that neither
“ Mario’s coming, nor this Letter hurry you.
“ By doing what is most conducive to your health,
“ you will do what is most agreeable to me : weigh
“ all these things by your own discretion. I want
“ you ; yet so as to love you ; my love makes
“ me wish to see you well ; my want of you
“ to see you as soon as possible : the first is the
“ better ; take care therefore, above all things,
“ to get well again : of all your innumerable ser-
“ vices to me, that will be the most acceptable
“ — the third of November¹⁰¹.”

By the honor, that he mentions in the Letter, he means the honor of a Triumph, which his friends encouraged him to demand for his success at Amanus and Pindenissum : in writing upon it to Atticus, he says, “consider what you would
 “advise me with regard to a Triumph to which
 “my friends invite me : for my part, if Bibulus,
 “who, while there was a Parthian in Syria,
 “never set a foot out of the gates of Antioch,
 “any more than he did upon a certain occasion
 “out of his own house, had not solicited a
 “Triumph, I should have been quiet ; but now
 “it is a shame to sit still ¹⁰².” Again, “as to a
 “Triumph, I had no thoughts of it before Bi-
 “bulus’s most impudent Letters, by which he
 “obtained an honorable supplication. If he had
 “really done all that he has written, I should
 “rejoice at it, and wish well to his suit ; but for
 “him, who never stirred beyond the walls,
 “while there was an enemy on this side the
 “Euphrates, to have such an honor decreed ; and
 “for me, whose army inspired all their hopes
 “and spirits into his, not to obtain the same,
 “will be a disgrace to us ; I say to us ; joining
 “you to myself : wherefore I am determined to
 “push at all, and hope to obtain all ¹⁰³,

After the contemptible account, which Cicero gives of Bibulus’s conduct in Syria, it must appear strange to see him honored with a supplication, and aspiring even to a Triumph : but this was not for any thing that he himself had done, but for what his Lieutenant Cassius had performed in
 his

his absence against the Parthians ; the success of the Lieutenants being ascribed always to the auspices of the General, who reaped the reward and glory of it : and as the Parthians were the most dangerous enemies of the Republic, and the more particularly dreaded at this time for their late defeat of Crassus, so any advantage gained against them was sure to be well received at Rome, and repaid with all the honors that could reasonably be demanded.

Whenever any Proconsul returned from his Province with pretensions to a Triumph, his Fasces, or Ensigns of Magistracy, were wreathed with laurel : with this equipage Cicero landed at Brundisium on the twenty-fifth of November, where his wife Terentia arrived at the same moment to meet him, so that their first salutation was in the great square of the City. From Brundisium he marched forward by slow stages towards Rome, making it his business on the road to confer with all his friends of both parties, who came out to salute him ; and to learn their sentiments on the present state of affairs ; from which he soon perceived, what of all things he most dreaded, an universal disposition to war. But as he foresaw the consequences of it more coolly and clearly than any of them, so his first resolution was to apply all his endeavours and authority to the mediation of a peace. He had not yet declared for either side, not that he was irresolute which of them to chuse, for he was determined within himself to follow Pompey ; but the difficulty was how

to act in the mean time towards Cæsar, so as to avoid taking part in the previous decrees, which were prepared against him, for abrogating his command, and obliging him to disband his forces on pain of being declared an enemy : here he wished to stand neuter a while, that he might act the mediator with the better grace and effect¹⁰⁴.

In this disposition he had an interview with Pompey on the tenth of December, of which he gives the following account : “We were together,” says he, “about two hours. He seemed
“to be extremely pleased at my return; he exhorted me to demand a Triumph; promised
“to do his part in it; advised me not to appear
“in the Senate, before I had obtained it, lest I
“should disgust any of the Tribunes by declaring
“my mind : in a word, nothing could be more
“obliging than his whole discourse on this subject. But as to public affairs, he talked in
“such a strain as if a war was inevitable, without giving the least hopes of an accommodation. He said, that he had long perceived
“Cæsar to be alienated from him, but had received a very late instance of it; for that
“Hirtius came from Cæsar a few days before,
“and did not come to see him; and when Balbus promised to bring Scipio an account of
“his business, the next morning before day,
“Hirtius was gone back again to Cæsar in the
“night : this he takes for a clear proof of Cæsar’s resolution to break with him. In short,
“I have no other comfort but in imagining,

“ that he, to whom even his enemies have
“ voted a second Consulship, and Fortune given
“ the greatest power, will not be so mad as to
“ put all this to hazard : yet if he begins to
“ rush on, I see many more things to be appre-
“ hended than I dare venture to commit to writ-
“ ing : at present I propose to be at Rome on
“ the third of January ¹⁰⁵.”

There is one little circumstance frequently touched in Cicero's letters, which gave him a particular uneasiness in his present situation, viz. his owing a sum of money to Cæsar, which he imagined might draw some reproach upon him, since he thought it dishonorable and indecent, he says, to be a debtor to one, against whom we were acting in public affairs : yet to pay it at that time would deprive him of a part of the money which he had reserved for his Triumph ¹⁰⁶. He desires Atticus however very earnestly to see it paid, which was done without doubt accordingly, since we meet with no farther mention of it : it does not appear, nor is it easy to guess, for what occasion this debt was contracted, unless it was to supply the extraordinary expense of his buildings after his return from exile, when he complained of being in a particular want of money from that general dissipation of his fortunes.

Pompey, finding Cicero wholly bent on peace, contrived to have a second conference with him before he reached the City, in hopes to allay his fears, and beat him off from that vain project of an accommodation, which might help to cool

the zeal of his friends in the senate : he overtook him therefore at Lavernium, and came on with him to Formiæ, where they spent a whole afternoon in a close conversation. Pompey strongly discouraged all thoughts of a pacification, declaring, “ that there could be none but what was treacherous and dangerous ; and that if Cæsar should disband his army, and take the Consulship, he would throw the Republic into confusion : but he was of opinion, that when he understood their preparations against him, he would drop the Consulship, and hold fast his army : but if he was mad enough to come forward and act offensively, he held him in utter contempt from a confidence in his own troops, and those of the Republic. They had got with them the copy of a speech, which Antony, one of the new Tribunes, made to the people four days before : it was a perpetual invective on Pompey’s conduct from his first appearance in public, with great complaints against the violent and arbitrary condemnation of Citizens, and the terror of his arms. After reading it over together, what think, you, says Pompey, would Cæsar himself do, if in possession of the Republic when this paultry, beggarly fellow, his Quæstor, dares to talk at this rate ? on the whole, Pompey seemed not only not to desire, but even to dread a peace¹⁰⁷.”

Cicero, however, would not still be driven from the hopes and pursuit of an accommodation ; the more he observed the disposition of both parties, the more he perceived the necessity

of it: the honest, as they were called, were disunited among themselves: many of them dissatisfied with Pompey; all fierce and violent; and denouncing nothing but ruin to their adversaries; he clearly foresaw, what he declared without scruple to his friends, “that which side soever got the better, the war must necessarily end in a Tyranny; the only difference was, that if their enemies conquered, they should be proscribed, if their friends, be slaves.” Though he had an abhorrence therefore of Cæsar’s cause, yet his advice was, to grant him his own terms, rather than try the experiment of arms, “and prefer the most unjust conditions to the justest war: since after they had been arming him against themselves for ten years past, it was too late to think of fighting, when they had made him too strong for them¹⁰⁸.”

This was the sum of his thoughts and counsels, when he arrived at Rome on the fourth of January; where he found the two new Consuls entirely devoted to Pompey’s interests. On his approach towards the City great multitudes came out to meet him with all possible demonstrations of honor: his last stage was from Pompey’s villa near Alba, because his own at Tusculum lay out of the great road, and was not commodious for a public entry: on his arrival, as he says, he fell into the very flame of civil discord, and found the war in effect proclaimed¹⁰⁹: for the Senate, at Scipio’s motion, had just voted a decree, “that Cæsar should dismiss his army by a certain day, or

A. Urb. 704.

Cic. 58.

Coff.

C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS,

L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CRUS.

“ be declared an enemy ; and when M. Antony
“ and Q. Cassius, two of the Tribunes, opposed
“ their negative to it,” as they had done to
every decree proposed against Cæsar, and could
not be persuaded by the entreaties of their friends,
to give way to the authority of the Senate, they
proceeded to that vote, which was the last re-
sort in cases of extremity, “ that the Consuls,
“ Prætors, Tribunes, and all who were about the
“ city with Proconsular power, should take care
“ that the Republic received no detriment.” As
this was supposed to arm the Magistrates with
an absolute power, to treat all men as they pleas-
ed, whom they judged to be enemies, so the
Two Tribunes, together with Curio, imme-
diately withdrew themselves upon it, and fled in
disguise to Cæsar’s camp, on pretence of danger
and violence to their persons, though none was yet
offered or designed to them.”

M. Antony, who now began to make a
figure in the affairs of Rome, was of an ancient
and noble extraction; the Grandson of that cele-
brated statesman and orator, who lost his life
in the massacres of Marius and Cinna: his Fa-
ther, as it is already related, had been honored
with one of the most important commissions of
the Republic; but after an inglorious discharge
of it, died with the character of a corrupt, op-
pressive, and rapacious Commander. The Son,
trained in the discipline of such a Parent, whom
he lost when he was very young, launched out
at once into all the excess of riot and debauchery,

and wasted his whole patrimony before he had put on the manly gown; showing himself to be the genuine Son of that Father, who was born, as Sallust says, to squander money, without ever employing a thought on business, till a present necessity urged him. His comely person, lively wit, insinuating address, made young Curio infinitely fond of him; so that, in spite of the commands of a severe Father, who had often turned Antony out of doors, and forbidden him his house, he could not be prevailed with to forsake his company; but supplied him with money for his frolics and amours, till he had involved himself on his account in a debt of fifty thousand pounds. This greatly afflicted old Curio; and Cicero was called in to heal the distress of the family, whom the Son entreated, with tears in his eyes, to intercede for Antony, as well as for himself, and not suffer them to be parted; but Cicero having prevailed with the father to make his son easy, by discharging his debts, advised him to insist upon it as a condition, and to enforce it by his paternal power, that he should have no farther commerce with Antony^{III}. This laid the foundation of an early aversion in Antony to Cicero, increased still by the perpetual course of Antony's life, which fortune happened to throw among Cicero's inveterate enemies: for, by the second marriage of his mother, he became son-in-law to that Lentulus, who was put to death for conspiring with Catiline, by whom he was initiated into all the cabals of a

traitorous faction, and infected with principles pernicious to the liberty of Rome. To revenge the death of his father, he attached himself to Clodius, and, during his Tribunate, was one of the ministers of all his violences; yet was detected at the same time in some criminal intrigue in his family, injurious to the honor of his Patron ¹¹². From this education in the City, he went abroad to learn the art of war under Gabinus, the most profligate of all Generals; who gave him the command of his horse in Syria, where he signalized his courage in the restoration of King Ptolemy, and acquired the first taste of martial glory, in an expedition undertaken against the laws and religion of his Country ¹¹³. From Egypt, instead of coming home, where his debts would not suffer him to be easy, he went to Cæsar into Gaul, the sure refuge of all the needy, the desperate, and the audacious; and after some stay in that Province, being furnished with money and credit by Cæsar, he returned to Rome to sue for the Quæstorship ¹¹⁴. Cæsar recommended him in a pressing manner to Cicero, “entreating him to accept Antony’s submission, and pardon him for what was past, and to assist him in his present suit: with which Cicero readily complied,” and obliged Antony so highly by it, that he declared war presently against Clodius, “whom he attacked with great fierceness in the Forum; and would certainly have killed, if he had not found means to hide himself under some stairs.” Antony openly gave out,

“ that he owed all this to Cicero’s generosity, to
“ whom he could never make amends for for-
“ mer injuries, but by the destruction of his ene-
“ my Clodius ¹¹⁵. ” Being chosen Quæstor,
he went back immediately to Cæsar, without ex-
pecting his lot, or a decree of the Senate, to ap-
point him his Province: where, though he had
all imaginable opportunities of acquiring money,
yet by squandering, as fast as he got it, he came
a second time empty and beggarly to Rome, to
put up for the Tribunate; in which office, after
the example of his friend Curio, having sold him-
self to Cæsar, he was, as Cicero says, as much
the cause of the ensuing war, as Helen was of that
of Troy ¹¹⁶.

It is certain at least, that Antony’s flight gave
the immediate pretext to it, as Cicero had foretold:
“ Cæsar,” says he, “ will betake himself to arms,
“ either for our want of preparation, or if no
“ regard be had to him at the election of Con-
“ suls; but especially, if any Tribune, obstruct-
“ ing the deliberations of the Senate, or exciting
“ the people to sedition, should happen to be
“ censured or over-ruled, or taken off, or ex-
“ pelled, or pretending to be expelled, run
“ away to him—¹¹⁷. ” In the same Letter he
gives a short, but true state of the merit of his
cause: “ What,” says he, “ can be more impudent?
“ You have held your government ten years,
“ not granted to you by the Senate, but extort-
“ ed by violence and faction: the full term is
“ expired, not of the law, but of your licentious

“ will: but allow it to be a law; it is now de-
“ creed, that you must have a successor: you
“ refuse, and say, have some regard to me: do
“ you first show your regard to us: will you
“ pretend to keep an army longer than the peo-
“ ple ordered, and contrary to the will of the
“ Senate ¹¹⁸? ” but Cæsar’s strength lay not in
the goodness of his cause, but of his troops ¹¹⁹; a
considerable part of which he was now drawing
together towards the confines of Italy, to be
ready to enter into action at any warning: the
flight of the Tribunes gave him a plausible handle
to begin, and seemed to sanctify his attempt;
but “ his real motive,” says Plutarch, “ was the
“ same that animated Cyrus and Alexander be-
“ fore him to disturb the peace of mankind;
“ the unquenchable thirst of Empire, and the
“ wild ambition of being the greatest man in
“ the world, which was not possible, till Pom-
“ pey was first destroyed ¹²⁰. ” Laying hold
therefore of the occasion, he presently passed the
Rubicon, which was the boundary of his Pro-
vince on that side of Italy, and marching forward
in an hostile manner, possessed himself without
resistance of the next great Towns in his way,
Ariminum, Pisaurum, Ancona, Aretium, &c. ¹²¹.

In this confused and disordered state of the
City, Cicero’s friends were soliciting the decree
of his Triumph, to which the whole Senate signi-
fied their ready consent: but “ the consul Len-
“ tulus, to make the favor more particularly his
“ own, desired that it might be deferred for a

“ while, till the public affairs were better settled,
“ giving his word, that he would then be the
“ mover of it himself ¹²². ” But Cæsar’s sudden march towards Rome put an end to all farther thoughts of it, and struck the Senate with such a panic, that, as if he had been already at the gates, they resolved presently to quit the City, and retreat towards the southern parts of Italy. All the principal Senators had particular districts assigned to their care, to be provided with troops, and all materials of defence against Cæsar. Cicero had Capua, with the inspection of the Sea-coast from Formiæ: he would not accept any greater charge for the sake of preserving his authority in the task of mediating a peace ¹²³; and for the same reason, when he perceived his new Province wholly unprovided against an enemy, and that it was impossible to hold Capua without a strong Garrison, he resigned his Employment, and chose not to act at all ¹²⁴.

Capua had always been the common seminary or place of educating Gladiators for the great men of Rome, where Cæsar had a famous school of them at this time which he had long maintained under the best masters for the occasions of his public shows in the City; and as they were very numerous and well furnished with arms, there was reason to apprehend that they would break out, and make some attempt in favor of their master, which might have been of dangerous consequence in the present circumstances of the Republic; so that Pompey thought it necessary

to take them out of their school, and distribute them among the principal Inhabitants of the place, assigning two to each master of a family, by which he secured them from doing any mischief¹²⁵.

While the Pompeian party was under no small dejection on account of Pompey's quitting the City, and retreating from the approach of Cæsar, T. Labienus, one of the chief Commanders on the other side, deserted Cæsar, and came over to them, which added some new life to their cause, and raised an expectation that many more would follow his example. Labienus had eminently distinguished himself in the Gallic war, where next to Cæsar himself, he had born the principal part, and by Cæsar's favor, had raised an immense fortune: so that he was much carested, and carried about every-where by Pompey, who promised himself great service from his fame and experience, and especially from his credit in Cæsar's army, and the knowledge of all his counsels: but his account of things, like that of all deserters, was accommodated rather to please, than to serve his new friends; representing the weakness of Cæsar's troops, their aversion to his present designs, the disaffection of the two Gauls, and disposition to revolt; the contrary of all which was found to be true in the experiment: and as he came to them single, without bringing with him any of those troops with which he had acquired his reputation, so his desertion had no other effect, than to ruin his own fortunes, without doing any service to Pompey¹²⁶.

But what gave a much better prospect to all honest men, was the proposal of an accommodation, which came about this time from Cæsar; who while he was pushing on the war with incredible vigor, talked of nothing but peace, and endeavoured particularly to persuade Cicero, “that he had no other view, than to secure himself from the insults of his enemies, and yield the first rank in the state to Pompey¹²⁷.” The conditions were, “that Pompey should go to his government of Spain, that his new levies should be dismissed, and his garrisons withdrawn, and that Cæsar should deliver up his Provinces, the farther Gaul to Domitius, the hither to Confidius, and sue for the Consulship in person, without requiring the privilege of absence.” These terms were readily embraced in a grand council of the Chiefs at Capua, and young L. Cæsar, who brought them, was sent back with letters from Pompey, and the addition only of one preliminary article, “that Cæsar in the mean while should recall his troops from the Towns, which he had seized beyond his Jurisdiction, so that the Senate might return to Rome, and settle the whole affair with honor and freedom¹²⁸.” Cicero was present at this council, of which he gave an account to Atticus; “I came to Capua” says he, “yesterday the twenty-sixth of January, where I met the Consuls, and many of our order: they all wish that Cæsar would stand to his conditions, and withdraw his troops: Favonius

“ alone was against all conditions imposed by
“ Cæsar, but was little regarded by the Coun-
“ cil: for Cato himself would now rather live
“ a slave, than fight; and declares, that if
“ Cæsar recal his garrisons, he will attend the
“ Senate, when the conditions come to be settled,
“ and not go to Sicily, where his service is
“ more necessary, which I am afraid will be
“ of ill consequence——there is a strange va-
“ riety in our Sentiments; the greatest part are
“ of opinion, that Cæsar will not stand to his
“ terms, and that these offers are made only to
“ hinder our preparations: but I am apt to think
“ that he will withdraw his troops: for he gets
“ the better of us by being made Consul, and
“ with less iniquity, than in the way which he
“ is now pursuing; and we cannot possibly come
“ off without some loss; for we are scandalously
“ unprovided both with soldiers, and with money,
“ since all that which was either private in the
“ City, or public in the treasury, is left a prey
“ to him¹²⁹. ”

During the suspense of this treaty, and the expectation of Cæsar's answer, Cicero began to conceive some hopes that both sides were relenting, and disposed to make up the quarrel; Cæsar, from a reflection on his rashness, and the Senate on their want of preparation: but he still suspected Cæsar, and the sending a message so important by a person so insignificant, as young Lucius Cæsar, looked, he says, as if he had done it by way of contempt, or with a view to disclaim it,

especially, when after offering conditions, which were likely to be accepted, he would not sit still to wait an answer, but continued his march with the same diligence, and in the same hostile manner as before ¹³⁰. His suspicions proved true; for by letters, which came soon after from Furnius and Curio, he perceived, that they made a mere jest of the Embassy ¹³¹.

It seems very evident, that Cæsar had no real thoughts of peace, by his paying no regard to Pompey's answer, and the trifling reasons which he gave for flighting it ¹³²: but he had a double view in offering those conditions; for by Pompey's rejecting them, as there was reason to expect from his known aversion to any treaty, he hoped to load him with the odium of the war: or by his embracing them, to slacken his preparations, and retard his design of leaving Italy; whilst he himself, in the mean time, by following him with a celerity that amazed every body ¹³³, might chance to come up with him before he could embark, and give a decisive blow to the war; from which he had nothing to apprehend, but it's being drawn into length. "I now plainly
" see," says Cicero, "though later indeed than I
" could have wished on account of the assurances
" given me by Balbus, that he aims at nothing
" else, nor has ever aimed at any thing from the
" beginning, but Pompey's life ¹³⁴."

If we consider this famous passage of the Rubicon, abstractedly from the event, it seems to have been so hazardous and desperate, that

Pompey might reasonably contemn the thought of it, as of an attempt too rash for any prudent man to venture upon. If Cæsar's view indeed had been to possess himself only of Italy, there could have been no difficulty in it: his army was undoubtedly the best which was then in the world; flushed with victory, animated with zeal for the person of their General, and an over-match for any which could be brought against it into the field: but this single army was all that he had to trust to; he had no resource: the loss of one battle was certain ruin to him; and yet he must necessarily run the risk of many before he could gain his end: for the whole Empire was armed against him; every Province offered a fresh enemy, and a fresh field of action: where he was like to be exposed to the same danger as on the plains of Pharfalia. But above all, his enemies were masters of the sea, so that he could not transport his forces abroad without the hazard of their being destroyed by a superior fleet, or of being starved at land by the difficulty of conveying supplies and provisions to them: Pompey relied chiefly on this single circumstance, and was persuaded, that it must necessarily determine the war in his favor¹³⁵: so that it seems surprising, how such a superiority of advantage, in the hands of so great a Commander, could possibly fail of success; and we must admire rather the fortune, than the conduct of Cæsar, for carrying him safe through all these difficulties to the possession of the Empire.

Cicero

Cicero seldom speaks of his attempt, but as a kind of madness ¹³⁶, and seemed to retain some hopes to the last, that he would not persist in it: the same imagination made Pompey and the Senate so resolute to defy, when they were in no condition to oppose him. Cæsar on the other hand might probably imagine, that their stiffness proceeded from a vain conceit of their strength, which would induce them to venture a battle with him in Italy; in which case he was sure enough to beat them: so that both sides were drawn farther perhaps than they intended, by mistaking each other's view. Cæsar, I say, might well apprehend, that they designed to try their strength with him in Italy; for that was the constant persuasion of the whole party, who thought it the best scheme which could be pursued: Pompey humored them in it, and always talked big to keep up their spirits; and though he saw from the first the necessity of quitting Italy, yet he kept the secret to himself, and wrote word at the same time to Cicero, that he should have a firm army in a few days, with which he would march against Cæsar into Picenum, so as to give them an opportunity of returning to the City ¹³⁷. The plan of the war, as it was commonly understood, was to possess themselves of the principal posts of Italy, and act chiefly on the defensive, in order to distress Cæsar by their different armies, cut off his opportunities of forage, hinder his access to Rome, and hold him continually employed, till the veteran army from Spain, under Pompey's

Lieutenants, Afranius, Petreius, and Varro, could come up to finish his overthrow¹³⁸. This was the notion which the Senate entertained of the war; they never conceived it possible that Pompey should submit to the disgrace of flying before Cæsar, and giving up Italy a prey to his enemy: in this confidence Domitius, with a very considerable force, and some of the principal Senators, threw himself into Corfinium, a strong town at the foot of the Apennine, on the Adriatic side, where he proposed to make a stand against Cæsar, and stop the progress of his march but he lost all his troops in the attempt, to the number of three Legions, for want of knowing Pompey's secret. Pompey indeed, when he saw what Domitius intended, pressed him earnestly, by several Letters, to come away and join with him, telling him, "that it was impossible
"to make any opposition to Cæsar, till their
"whole forces were united; and that as to
"himself, he had with him only the two Legions,
"which were recalled from Cæsar, and were
"not to be trusted against him; and if Domitius
"should entangle himself in Corfinium, so as to
"be precluded by Cæsar from a retreat, that he
"could not come to his relief with so weak an
"army, and bad him therefore not to be surprised to hear of his retiring, if Cæsar should
"persist to march towards him¹³⁹:" yet Domitius, prepossessed with the opinion, that Italy was to be the seat of the war, and that Pompey would never suffer so good a body of troops, and

so many of his best friends to be lost, would not quit the advantageous post of Corfinium, but depended still on being relieved; and when he was actually besieged, sent Pompey word, how easily Cæsar might be intercepted between their two armies ¹⁴⁰.

Cicero was as much disappointed as any of the rest; he had never dreamt of their being obliged to quit Italy, till by Pompey's motions he perceived at last his intentions; of which he speaks, with great severity, in several of his Letters, and begs Atticus's advice upon that new face of their affairs; and to enable Atticus to give it the more clearly, he explains to him in short what occurred to his own mind on the one side and the other. "The great obligations," says he, "which I am under to Pompey, and my particular friendship with him, as well as the cause of the Republic itself, seem to persuade me, that I ought to join my counsels and fortunes with his. Besides, if I stay behind, and desert that band of the best and most eminent Citizens, I must fall under the power of a single person, who gives me many proofs indeed of being my friend, and whom, as you know, I had long ago taken care to make such, from a suspicion of this very storm, which now hangs over us; yet it should be well considered, both how far I may venture to trust him, and supposing it clear, that I may trust him, whether it be consistent with the character of a firm and honest Citizen to continue in that City, in which he has born

“ the greatest honors , and performed the great-
“ est acts , and where he is now invested with
“ the most honorable Priesthood , when it is to be
“ attended with some danger , and perhaps with
“ some disgrace , if Pompey should ever restore
“ the Republic. These are the difficulties on
“ the one side ; let us see what there are on the
“ other : nothing has hitherto been done by our
“ Pompey , either with prudence or courage ;
“ I may add also nothing but what was contrary
“ to my advice and authority : I will omit those
“ old stories ; how he first nursed , raised and
“ armed this man against the Republic ; how
“ he supported him in carrying his laws by violence ,
“ and without regard to the Auspices ; how he
“ added the farther Gaul to his Government ,
“ made himself his son-in-law , assisted as Augur
“ in the Adoption of Clodius , was more zealous
“ to restore me , than to prevent my being
“ expelled ; enlarged the term of Cæsar’s command ,
“ served him in all his affairs in his absence ,
“ nay , in his third Consulship , after he began
“ to espouse the interests of the Republic , how
“ he insisted , that the ten Tribunes should jointly
“ propose a law to dispense with his absence
“ in suing for the Consulship , which he confirmed
“ afterwards by a law of his own , and opposed
“ the Consul Marcellus , when he moved to put
“ an end to his government on the first of March :
“ but to omit , I say , all this , what can be more
“ dishonorable , or show a greater want of conduct
“ than this retreat , or rather shameful flight from

“ the City ? what conditions were not preferable
“ to the necessity of abandoning our country ? the
“ conditions, I confess, were bad, yet what can
“ be worse than this ? but Pompey, you will say,
“ will recover the Republic ; when ? or what
“ preparation is there for it ? is not all Picenum
“ lost ? is not the way left open to the City ? is
“ not all our treasure both public and private
“ given up to the enemy ? in a word, there is no
“ party, no forces, no place of rendezvous for the
“ friends of the Republic to resort to ; Apulia is
“ chosen for our retreat ; the weakest and remotest
“ part of Italy, which implies nothing but despair,
“ and a design of flying by the opportunity of the
“ sea, &c. ¹⁴¹.” In another Letter, “ there is but
“ one thing wanting,” says he, “ to complete our
“ friend’s disgrace ; his failing to succour Domitius :
“ no body doubts but that he will come to his
“ relief ; yet I am not of that mind. Will he then
“ desert such a Citizen, and the rest, whom you
“ know to be with him ; especially when he has
“ thirty cohorts in the Town : yes, unless all
“ things deceive me, he will desert him : he is
“ strangely frightened ; means nothing but to fly,
“ yet you, for I perceive what your opinion is,
“ think, that I ought to follow this man. For
“ my part, I easily know, whom I ought to fly,
“ not whom I ought to follow. As to that
“ saying of mine, which you extol, and think
“ worthy to be celebrated, that I had rather be
“ conquered with Pompey, than conquer with
“ Cæsar, it is true, I still say so ; but with such a

“ Pompey as he then was , or as I took him to
“ be : but as for this man , who runs away , before
“ he knows from whom , or whither , who has
“ betrayed us and ours , given up his country ,
“ and is now leaving Italy ; if I had rather be
“ conquered with him , the thing is over , I am
“ conquered , &c. ¹⁴² . ”

There was a notion in the mean while , that universally prevailed through Italy , of Cæsar’s cruel and revengeful temper , from which horrible effects were apprehended : Cicero himself was strongly possessed with it , as appears from many of his Letters , where he seems to take it for granted , that he would be a second Phalaris , not a Pisistratus ; a bloody , not a gentle Tyrant. This he inferred from the violence of his past life ; the nature of his present enterprise ; and above all , from the character of his friends and followers ; who were , generally speaking , a needy , profligate , audacious crew ; prepared for every thing that was desperate ¹⁴³ . It was affirmed likewise , with great confidence , that he had openly declared , that he was now coming to revenge the deaths , of Cn. Carbo , M. Brutus , and all the other Marian Chiefs , whom Pompey , when acting under Sylla , had cruelly put to death for their opposition to the Syllan cause ¹⁴⁴ . But there was no real ground for any of these suspicions : for Cæsar , who thought Tyranny , as Cicero says , the greatest of Goddeses , and whose sole view it had been through life to bring his affairs to this crisis , and to make a bold push for Empire , had ,

from the observation of past times, and the fate of former Tyrants, laid it down for a maxim, that clemency in victory was the best means of securing the stability of it¹⁴⁵. Upon the surrender therefore of Corfinium, where he had the first opportunity of giving a public specimen of himself, he showed a noble example of moderation, by the generous dismissal of Domitius, and all the other Senators who fell into his hands; among whom was Lentulus Spinther, Cicero's particular friend¹⁴⁶. This made a great turn in his favor by easing people of the terrors, which they had before conceived of him, and seemed to confirm what he affected every where to give out, that he fought nothing by the war but the security of his person and dignity. Pompey, on the other hand, appeared every day more and more despicable, by flying before an enemy, whom his pride and perverseness was said to have driven to the necessity of taking arms — “tell me, I beg of you,” says Cicero, “what can be more wretched, than
“for the one to be gathering applause from the
“worst of causes, the other giving offence in
“the best? the one to be reckoned the preserver
“of his enemies, the other the deserter of
“his friends? and in truth, though I have all
“the affection which I ought to have for our
“friend Cnæus, yet I cannot excuse his not
“coming to the relief of such men; for if he
“was afraid to do it, what can be more paltry?
“or if, as some think, he thought to make his
“cause the more popular by their destruction,

“ what can be more unjust ? &c. ¹⁴⁷. ” From this first experiment of Cæsar’s clemency , Cicero took occasion to send him a Letter of compliment, and to thank him particularly for his generous treatment of Lentulus , who when Consul , had been the chief author of his restoration ; to which Cæsar returned the following answer.

Cæsar Emperor to Cicero Emperor.

“ You judge rightly of me, for I am thoroughly
 “ known to you, that nothing is farther removed
 “ from me than cruelty; and as I have a great
 “ pleasure from the thing itself, so I rejoice and
 “ triumph to find my act approved by you: nor
 “ does it at all move me, that those, who were
 “ dismissed by me, are said to be gone away to
 “ renew the war against me: for I desire nothing
 “ more, than that I may always act like myself;
 “ they like themselves. I wish that you would
 “ meet me at the City, that I may use your coun-
 “ sel and assistance as I have hitherto done in all
 “ things. Nothing, I assure you, is dearer to me
 “ than Dolabella; I will owe this favor therefore
 “ to him: nor is it possible for him indeed to
 “ behave otherwise, such is his humanity, his
 “ good sense, and his affection to me. Adieu ¹⁴⁸. ”

When Pompey, after the unhappy affair of Corfinium, found himself obliged to retire to Brundisium, and to declare, what he had never before directly owned, his design of quitting Italy, and carrying the war abroad ¹⁴⁹; he was very

desirous to draw Cicero along with him, and wrote two Letters to him at Formiæ, to press him to come away directly; but Cicero, already much out of humor with him, was disgusted still the more by his short and negligent manner of writing, upon an occasion so important¹⁵⁰: the second of Pompey's Letters, with Cicero's answer, will explain the present state of their affairs, and Cicero's sentiments upon them.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus Proconsul to M. Cicero
Emperor.

“If you are in good health, I rejoice: I read
“ your Letter with pleasure: for I perceived in
“ it your ancient virtue by your concern for the
“ common safety. The Consuls are come to
“ the army, which I had in Apulia: I earnestly
“ exhort you, by your singular and perpetual
“ affection to the Republic, to come also to us,
“ that by our joint advice we may give help and
“ relief to the afflicted state. I would have you
“ make the Appian way your road, and come
“ in all haste to Brundisium. Take care of your
“ health.”

M. Cicero Emperor to Cn. Magnus Proconsul.

“When I sent that letter, which was deli-
“ vered to you at Canusium, I had no suspicion
“ of your crossing the sea for the service of the
“ Republic, and was in great hopes, that we

“ should be able, either to bring about an ac-
“ commodation, which to me seemed the most
“ useful, or to defend the Republic with the great-
“ est dignity in Italy. In the mean time, be-
“ fore my Letter reached you, being informed
“ of your resolution, by the instructions which
“ you sent to the Consuls, I did not wait till I
“ could have a Letter from you, but set out im-
“ mediately towards you with my Brother and
“ our children for Apulia. When we were come
“ to Theanum, your friend C. Messius, and ma-
“ ny others told us, that Cæsar was on the road
“ to Capua, and would lodge that very night at
“ Æsernia: I was much disturbed at it, because,
“ if it was true, I not only took my journey to
“ be precluded, but myself also to be certainly
“ a prisoner. I went on therefore to Cales with
“ intent to stay there, till I could learn from
“ Æsernia the certainty of my intelligence: at
“ Cales there was brought to me a copy of the
“ Letter, which you wrote to the Consul Lentu-
“ lus, with which you sent the copy also of one
“ that you had received from Domitius, dated
“ the eighteenth of February, and signified,
“ that it was of great importance to the Repub-
“ lic, that all the troops should be drawn toge-
“ ther, as soon as possible, to one place; yet
“ so as to leave a sufficient Garrison in Capua.
“ Upon reading these Letters, I was of the same
“ opinion with all the rest, that you were re-
“ solved to march to Corfinium with all your
“ forces, whither, when Cæsar lay before the

“ Town, I thought it impossible for me to come.
“ While this affair was in the utmost expecta-
“ tion, we were informed at one and the same
“ time both of what had happened at Corfinium,
“ and that you were actually marching towards
“ Brundisium: and when I and my Brother re-
“ solved without hesitation to follow you thither,
“ we were advertised by many, who came from
“ Samnium, and Apulia, to take care that we
“ did not fall into Cæsar’s hands, for that he was
“ upon his march to the same places where our
“ road lay, and would reach them sooner than
“ we could possibly do. This being the case, it
“ did not seem advisable to me, or my Brother,
“ or any of our friends, to run the risk of hurt-
“ ing, not only ourselves, but the Republic,
“ by our rashness: especially when we could not
“ doubt, but that if the journey had been safe
“ to us, we should not then be able to overtake
“ you. In the mean while I received your Let-
“ ter, dated from Canusium the twenty-first of
“ February, in which you exhort me to come in
“ all haste to Brundisium: but as I did not receive
“ it till the twenty-ninth, I made no question
“ but that you were already arrived at Brundi-
“ sium, and all that road seemed wholly shut
“ up to us, and we ourselves are surely intercept-
“ ed as those who were taken at Corfinium: for
“ we did not reckon them only to be prisoners,
“ who were actually fallen into the enemy’s hands,
“ but those too not less so, who happen to be
“ enclosed within the quarters and garrisons of

“ their adversaries. Since this is our case, I
“ heartily wish in the first place, that I had al-
“ ways been with you, as I then told you when
“ I relinquished the Command of Capua, which
“ I did not do for the sake of avoiding trouble,
“ but because I saw that the Town could not be
“ held without an army, and was unwilling
“ that the same accident should happen to me,
“ which to my sorrow has happened to some of
“ our bravest Citizens at Corfinium: but since it
“ has not been my lot to be with you, I wish
“ that I had been made privy to your counsels:
“ for I could not possibly suspect, and should
“ sooner have believed any thing, than that for
“ the good of the Republic, under such a Lead-
“ er as you, we should not be able to stand our
“ ground in Italy: nor do I now blame your
“ conduct, but lament the fate of the Republic;
“ and though I cannot comprehend what it is
“ which you have followed, yet I am not the
“ less persuaded, that you have done nothing,
“ but with the greatest reason. You remember,
“ I believe, what my opinion always was; first,
“ to preserve peace even on bad conditions; then
“ about leaving the City; for as to Italy, you
“ never intimated a tittle to me about it: but I
“ do not take upon myself to think, that my
“ advice ought to have been followed: I follow-
“ ed yours; nor that for the sake of the Repub-
“ lic, of which I despaired, and which is now
“ overturned, so as not to be raised up again
“ without a civil and most pernicious war: I

“ fought you ; desired to be with you ; nor will
“ I omit the first opportunity which offers of
“ effecting it. I easily perceived, through all this
“ affair, that I did not satisfy those who are fond
“ of fighting : for I made no scruple to own,
“ that I wished for nothing so much as peace ;
“ not but that I had the same apprehensions
“ from it as they ; but I thought them more
“ tolerable than a civil war ; then , after the war
“ was begun, when I saw that conditions of
“ peace were offered to you, and a full and ho-
“ norable answer given to them, I began to
“ weigh and deliberate well upon my own con-
“ duct, which, considering your kindness to me,
“ I fancied that I should easily explain to your
“ satisfaction : I recollected that I was the only
“ man, who , for the greatest services to the pub-
“ lic, had suffered a most wretched and cruel pu-
“ nishment : that I was the only one, who, if I
“ offended him, to whom at the very time when
“ we were in arms against him, a second Con-
“ sulship and most splendid Triumph was offer-
“ ed, should be involved again in all the same
“ struggles ; so that my person seemed to stand
“ always exposed as a public mark to the insults
“ of profligate Citizens : nor did I suspect any
“ of these things till I was openly threatened with
“ them, nor was I so much afraid of them, if
“ they were really to befall me, as I judged it
“ prudent to decline them, if they could ho-
“ nestly be avoided. You see in short the state
“ of my conduct while we had any hopes of

“ peace; what has since happened deprived me
“ of all power to do any thing: but to those
“ whom I do not please I can easily answer, that
“ I never was more a friend to C. Cæsar than
“ they, nor they ever better friends to the Re-
“ public than myself: the only difference be-
“ tween me and them is, that as they are ex-
“ cellent Citizens, and I not far removed from
“ that character, it was my advice to proceed
“ by way of treaty, which I understood to be
“ approved also by you; theirs by way of arms;
“ and since this method has prevailed, it shall be
“ my care to behave myself so, that the Repub-
“ lic may not want in me the spirit of a true
“ Citizen, nor you of a friend. Adieu¹⁵¹. ”

The disgust, which Pompey's management had given him, and which he gently intimates in this Letter, was the true reason why he did not join him at this time: he had a mind to deliberate a while longer, before he took a step so decisive: this he owns to Atticus, where, after recounting all the particulars of his own conduct, which were the most liable to exception, he adds, I have neither done nor omitted to do any thing, which has not both a probable and prudent excuse — and in truth was willing to consider a little longer, what was right and fit for me to do¹⁵². The chief ground of his deliberation was, that he still thought a peace possible, in which case Pompey and Cæsar would be one again, and he had no mind to give Cæsar any cause to be an enemy to him, when he was become a friend to Pompey.

While things were in this situation, Cæsar sent young Balbus after the Consul Lentulus, to endeavour to persuade him to stay in Italy, and return to the City, by the offer of every thing that could tempt him: he called upon Cicero on his way, who gives the following account of it to Atticus: "Young Balbus came to me on the
" twenty-fourth in the evening, running in all
" haste by private roads after Lentulus, with Letters and instructions from Cæsar, and the offer
" of any Government, if he will return to Rome:
" but it will have no effect unless they happen
" to meet: he told me that Cæsar desired nothing so much as to overtake Pompey; which
" I believe; and to be friends with him again;
" which I do not believe; and begin to fear,
" that all his clemency means nothing else at last
" but to give that one cruel blow. The elder
" Balbus writes me word, that Cæsar wishes nothing more than to live in safety, and yield
" the first rank to Pompey. You take him I
" suppose to be in earnest¹⁵³."

Cicero seems to think, that Lentulus might have been persuaded to stay if Balbus and he had met together; for he had no opinion of the firmness of these Consuls, but says of them both on another occasion, that they were more easily moved by every wind, than a feather or a leaf. He received another Letter soon after from Balbus, of which he sent a copy to Atticus, that he might pity him, he says, to see what a dupe they thought to make of him¹⁵⁴.

Balbus to Cicero Emperor.

“ I conjure you , Cicero , to think of some
“ method of making Cæsar and Pompey friends
“ again, who by the perfidy of certain persons
“ are now divided: it is a work highly worthy
“ of your virtue: take my word for it, Cæsar
“ will not only be in your power, but think
“ himself infinitely obliged to you if you would
“ charge yourself with this affair. I should be glad
“ if Pompey would do so too; but in the present
“ circumstances, it is what I wish rather than hope,
“ that he may be brought to any terms: but
“ whenever he gives over flying and fearing Cæsar,
“ I shall not despair, that your authority may have
“ its weight with him. Cæsar takes it kindly, that
“ you were for Lentulus’s staying in Italy, and it
“ was the greatest obligation which you could
“ confer upon me: for I love him as much as I
“ do Cæsar himself: if he had suffered me to talk
“ to him as freely as we used to do, and not so
“ often shunned the opportunities which I sought
“ of conferring with him, I should have been less
“ unhappy than I now am: for assure yourself
“ that no man can be more afflicted than I to
“ see one, who is dearer to me than myself, acting
“ his part so ill in his Consulship, that he seems
“ to be any thing rather than a Consul; but
“ should he be disposed to follow your advice,
“ and take your word for Cæsar’s good intentions,
“ and pass the rest of his Consulship at Rome, I
“ should begin to hope, that by your authority
and

“ and at his motion, Pompey and Cæsar may
 “ be made one again with the approbation even
 “ of the Senate. Whenever this can be brought
 “ about, I shall think that I have lived long
 “ enough: you will entirely approve, I am sure,
 “ what Cæsar did at Corfinium: in an affair of
 “ that sort, nothing could fall out better, than
 “ that it should be transacted without blood. I
 “ am extremely glad, that my Nephew’s visit
 “ was agreeable to you; as to what he said
 “ on Cæsar’s part, and what Cæsar himself
 “ wrote to you, I know Cæsar to be very
 “ sincere in it, whatever turn his affairs may
 “ take.”

Cæsar at the same time was extremely solicitous,
 not so much to gain Cicero, for that was not to
 be expected, as to prevail with him to stand neuter.
 He wrote to him several times to that effect, and
 employed all their common friends to press him
 with Letters on that head: who, by his keeping
 such a distance at this time from Pompey, imagin-
 ing that they had made some impression, began
 to attempt a second point with him, viz. to persuade
 him to come back to Rome, and assist in the
 counsels of the Senate, which Cæsar designed to
 summon at his return from following Pompey:
 with this view in the hurry of his march towards
 Brundisium, Cæsar sent him the following Letter.

Cæsar Emperor to Cicero Emperor.

“ When I had but just time to see our friend
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“ Furnius, nor could conveniently speak with,
“ or hear him, was in haste, and on my march,
“ having sent the Legions before me, yet I could
“ not pass by without writing, and sending him
“ to you with my thanks: though I have often
“ paid this duty before, and seem likely to pay
“ it oftener, you deserve it so well of me. I desire
“ of you in a special manner, that, as I hope to be
“ in the City shortly, I may see you there, and
“ have the benefit of your advice, your interest,
“ your authority, your assistance in all things.
“ But to return to the point: you will pardon
“ the haste and brevity of my Letter, and learn
“ the rest from Furnius. ” To which Cicero
answered.

Cicero Emperor to Cæsar Emperor.

“ Upon reading your Letter, delivered to me
“ by Furnius, in which you pressed me to come
“ to the City, I did not so much wonder at
“ what you there intimated of your desire to
“ use my advice and authority, but was at a loss
“ to find out what you meant by my interest,
“ and assistance: yet I flattered myself into a
“ persuasion, that out of your admirable and
“ singular wisdom, you were desirous to enter
“ into some measures for establishing the peace
“ and concord of the City; and in that case I
“ looked upon my temper and character as fit
“ enough to be employed in such a deliberation.
“ If the case be so, and you have any concern

“ for the safety of our friend Pompey, and of
“ reconciling him to yourself, and to the Republic,
“ you will certainly find no man more proper for
“ such a work than I am, who from the very first
“ have always been the adviser of peace both to
“ him and the Senate; and since this recourse to
“ arms have not meddled with any part of the
“ war, but thought you to be really injured by it,
“ while your enemies and enviers were attempting
“ to deprive you of those honors, which the Roman
“ people had granted you. But as at that time I
“ was not only a favorer of your dignity, but an
“ encourager also of others to assist you in it; so
“ now the dignity of Pompey greatly affects me:
“ for many years ago I made choice of you two,
“ with whom to cultivate a particular friendship,
“ and to be, as I now am, most strictly united.
“ Wherefore I desire of you, or rather beg and
“ implore with all my prayers, that in the hurry
“ of your cares you would indulge a moment to
“ this thought, how by your generosity I may be
“ permitted to show myself an honest, grateful,
“ pious man, in remembering an act of the greatest
“ kindness to me. If this related only to myself,
“ I should hope still to obtain it from you: but
“ it concerns, I think, both your honor and the
“ Republic, that by your means I should be allowed
“ to continue in a situation the best adapted to
“ promote the peace of you two, as well as the
“ general concord of all the Citizens. After I had
“ sent my thanks to you before on the account of
“ Lentulus; for giving safety to him who had

“ given it to me; yet upon reading his Letter,
 “ in which he expresses the most grateful Sense
 “ of your liberality, I took myself to have
 “ received the same grace from you, which he
 “ had done: towards whom, if by this you
 “ perceive me to be grateful, let it be your care,
 “ I beseech you, that I may be so too towards
 “ Pompey¹⁵⁷. ”

Cicero was censured for some passages of this Letter, which Cæsar took care to make public, viz. the compliment on Cæsar's admirable wisdom; and above all, the acknowledgment of his being injured by his adversaries in the present war: in excuse of which, he says, “ that he was not sorry
 “ for the publication of it; for he himself had
 “ given several copies of it; and considering what
 “ had since happened, was pleased to have it
 “ known to the world how much he had always
 “ been inclined to peace; and that, in urging
 “ Cæsar to save his Country, he thought it his
 “ business to use such expressions as were the
 “ most likely to gain authority with him, without
 “ fearing to be thought guilty of flattery, in urging
 “ him to an act, for which he would gladly have
 “ thrown himself even at his feet¹⁵⁸. ”

He received another Letter on the same subject, and about the same time, written jointly by Balbus and Oppius, two of Cæsar's chief confidants.

Balbus and Oppius to M. Cicero.

“ The advice, not only of little men, such as
 “ we are, but even of the greatest, is generally

“ weighed, not by the intention of the giver, but
“ the event; yet relying on your humanity, we
“ will give you what we take to be the best in
“ the case about which you wrote to us; which,
“ though it should not be found prudent, yet
“ certainly flows from the utmost fidelity and
“ affection to you. If we did not know from Cæsar
“ himself, that, as soon as he comes to Rome, he
“ will do what in our judgment we think he ought
“ to do, treat about a reconciliation between him
“ and Pompey, we should give over exhorting
“ you to come and take part in those delibera-
“ tions; that by your help, who have a strict
“ friendship with them both, the whole affair may
“ be settled with ease and dignity: or, if on the
“ contrary, we believed that Cæsar would not do
“ it, and knew that he was resolved upon a war
“ with Pompey, we should never try to persuade
“ you, to take arms against a man to whom you
“ have the greatest obligations, in the same
“ manner as we have always entreated you, not
“ to fight against Cæsar. But since at present we
“ can only guess rather than know what Cæsar
“ will do, we have nothing to offer but this, that
“ it does not seem agreeable to your dignity, or
“ your fidelity, so well known to all, when you
“ are intimate with them both, to take arms against
“ either: and this we do not doubt but Cæsar,
“ according to his humanity, will highly approve:
“ yet if you judge proper, we will write to him,
“ to let us know what he will really do about it;
“ and if he returns us an answer, will presently

“ send you notice, what we think of it, and give
“ you our word, that we will advise only, what
“ we take to be most suitable to your honor,
“ not to Cæsar’s views; and are persuaded, that
“ Cæsar, out of his indulgence to his friends, will
“ be pleased with it ”. ” This joint Letter was
followed by a separate one from Balbus.

Balbus to Cicero Emperor.

“ Immediately after I had sent the common
“ Letter from Oppius and myself, I received one
“ from Cæsar, of which I have sent you a copy;
“ whence you will perceive how desirous he is of
“ peace, and to be reconciled with Pompey, and
“ how far removed from all thoughts of cruelty.
“ It gives me an extreme joy, as it certainly
“ ought to do, to see him in these sentiments.
“ As to yourself, your fidelity, and your piety,
“ I am entirely of the same mind, my dear Cicero,
“ with you, that you cannot, consistently with
“ your character and duty, bear arms against a
“ man to whom you declare yourself so greatly
“ obliged: that Cæsar will approve this resolution,
“ I certainly know from his singular humanity;
“ and that you will perfectly satisfy him, by
“ taking no part in the war against him, nor
“ joining yourself to his adversaries; this he will
“ think sufficient, not only from you, a person of
“ such dignity and splendor, but has allowed it
“ even to me, not to be found in that camp which
“ is likely to be formed against Lentulus and

“ Pompey , from whom I have received the
“ greatest obligations: it was enough,” he said,
“ if I performed my part to him in the City and
“ the gown, which I might perform also to them
“ if I thought fit: wherefore I now manage all
“ Lentulus’s affairs at Rome, and discharge my
“ duty, my fidelity, my piety to them both:
“ yet in truth I do not take the hopes of an
“ accommodation, though now so low, to be
“ quite desperate, since Cæsar is in that mind in
“ which we ought to wish him: one thing would
“ please me, if you think it proper, that you
“ would write to him, and desire a guard from
“ him, as you did from Pompey, at the time of
“ Milo’s trial, with my approbation: I will under-
“ take from him, if I rightly know Cæsar, that
“ he will sooner pay a regard to your dignity,
“ than to his own interest. How prudently I
“ write these things, I know not; but this I
“ certainly know; that whatever I write, I write
“ out of a singular love and affection to you:
“ for let me die, (so as Cæsar may but live) if
“ I have not so great an esteem for you, that
“ few are equally dear to me. When you have
“ taken any resolution in this affair, I wish that
“ you would let me know it, for I am exceedingly
“ solicitous that you should discharge your duty
“ to them both, which in truth I am confi-
“ dent you will discharge. Take care of your
“ health¹⁶⁰. ”

The offer of a guard was artfully insinuated;
for while it carried an appearance of honor and

respect to Cicero's person, it must necessarily have made him Cæsar's prisoner, and deprived him of the liberty of retiring, when he found it proper, out of Italy: but he was too wise to be caught by it, or to be moved in any manner by the Letters themselves, to entertain the least thought of going to Rome, since to assist in the Senate, when Pompey and the Consuls were driven out of it, was in reality to take part against them. What gave him a more immediate uneasiness, was the daily expectation of an interview with Cæsar himself, who was now returning from Brundisium by the road of Formiæ, where he then resided: for though he would gladly have avoided him, if he could have contrived to do it decently, yet to leave the place just when Cæsar was coming to it, could not fail of being interpreted as a particular affront: he resolved therefore to wait for him, and to act on the occasion with a firmness and gravity, which became his rank and character.

They met as he expected, and he sent Atticus the following account of what passed between them: "My discourse with him," says he, "was such as would rather make him think
"well of me than thank me. I stood firm in
"refusing to go to Rome; but was deceived in
"expecting to find him easy; for I never saw
"any one less so: he was condemned, he said,
"by my judgment; and, if I did not come,
"others would be the more backward: I told
"him that their case was very different from

“ mine. After many things said on both sides,
“ he bad me come, however, and try to make
“ peace: shall I do it, says I, in my own way?
“ do you imagine, replied he, that I will pre-
“ scribe to you? I will move the Senate, then,
“ says I, for a decree against your going to Spain,
“ or transporting your troops into Greece, and
“ say a great deal besides in bewailing the case of
“ Pompey: I will not allow, replied he, such
“ things to be said: so I thought, says I, and
“ for that reason will not come; because I must
“ either say them, and many more, which I
“ cannot help saying, if I am there, or not come
“ at all. The result was; that to shift off the
“ discourse, he wished me to consider of it;
“ which I could not refuse to do, and so we
“ parted, I am persuaded, that he is not pleased
“ with me; but I am pleased with myself; which
“ I have not been before of a long time. As
“ for the rest, good Gods, what a crew he has
“ with him! what a hellish band, as you call
“ them!——what a deplorable affair! what de-
“ sperate troops! what a lamentable thing, to see
“ Servius’s son, and Titinius’s, with many more
“ of their rank in that camp, which besieged
“ Pompey? he has six legions; wakes at all
“ hours; fears nothing: I see no end of this ca-
“ lamity. His declaration at the last, which I
“ had almost forgot, was odious; that if he was
“ not permitted to use my advice, he would use
“ such as he could get from others, and pursue
“ all measures which were for his service.”

From this conference, Cicero went directly to Arpinum, and there invested his son, at the age of sixteen, with the manly gown: he resolved to carry him along with him to Pompey's camp, and thought it proper to give him an air of manhood before he enlisted him into the war, and since he could not perform that ceremony at Rome, chose to oblige his countrymen, by celebrating this Festival in his native City ¹⁶².

While Cæsar was on the road towards Rome, young Quintus Cicero, the nephew, a fiery giddy youth, privately wrote to him to offer his service, with a promise of some information concerning his uncle; upon which, being sent for and admitted to an audience, he assured Cæsar, that his Uncle was utterly disaffected to all his measures, and determined to leave Italy and go to Pompey. The boy was tempted to this rashness by the hopes of a considerable present, and gave much uneasiness by it both to the Father and the Uncle, who had reason to fear some ill consequence from it ¹⁶³: but Cæsar desiring still to divert Cicero from declaring against him, and to quiet the apprehensions which he might entertain for what was past, took occasion to signify to him in a kind Letter from Rome, that he retained no resentment of his refusal to come to the City, though Tullus and Servius complained, that he had not shown the same indulgence to them — ridiculous men, says Cicero, who, after sending their sons to besiege Pompey at Brundisium, pretend to be scrupulous about going to the Senate ¹⁶⁴.

Cicero's behaviour, however, and residence in those villas of his, which were nearest to the sea, gave rise to a general report that he was waiting only for a wind to carry him over to Pompey; upon which Cæsar sent him another pressing Letter, to try, if possible, to dissuade him from that step.

Cæsar Emperor to Cicero Emperor.

“ Though I never imagined that you would do
“ any thing rashly or imprudently, yet moved by
“ common report, I thought proper to write to
“ you, and beg of you by our mutual affection,
“ that you would not run to a declining cause,
“ whither you did not think fit to go while it
“ stood firm. For you will do the greatest inju-
“ ry to our friendship, and consult but ill for
“ yourself, if you do not follow, where fortune
“ calls: for all things seem to have succeeded most
“ prosperously for us, most unfortunately for
“ them: nor will you be thought to have follow-
“ ed the cause, (since that was the same, when
“ you chose to withdraw yourself from their coun-
“ sels) but to have condemned some act of mine;
“ than which you can do nothing that could
“ affect me more sensibly, and what I beg by
“ the rights of our friendship, that you would
“ not do. Lastly, what is more agreeable to
“ the character of an honest, quiet man, and
“ good Citizen, than to retire from civil broils?
“ from which some, who would gladly have

“ done it, have been deterred by an apprehen-
“ sion of danger: but you, after a full testimony
“ of my life, and trial of my friendship, will
“ find nothing more safe or more reputable, than
“ to keep yourself clear from all this contention.
“ The 16th of April on the road ¹⁶⁵.”

Antony also, whom Cæsar left to guard Italy in his absence, wrote to him to the same purpose, and on the same day.

Antonius Tribune of the people and Proprætor, to
Cicero Emperor.

“ If I had not a great esteem for you, and
“ much greater indeed than you imagine, I
“ should not be concerned at the report which
“ is spread of you, especially when I take it to
“ be but false. But out of the excess of my af-
“ fection, I cannot dissemble, that even a report,
“ though false, makes some impression on me.
“ I cannot believe that you are preparing to cross
“ the sea, when you have such a value for Dola-
“ bella, and your daughter Tullia, that excel-
“ lent woman, and are so much valued by us all,
“ to whom in truth your dignity and honor are
“ almost dearer than to yourself; yet I did not
“ think it the part of a friend not to be moved
“ by the discourse even of ill-designing men,
“ and wrote this with the greater inclination, as
“ I take my part to be the more difficult on the
“ account of our late coldness, occasioned rather
“ by my jealousy, than any injury from you.

“ For I desire you to assure yourself, that no-
“ body is dearer to me than you, excepting my
“ Cæsar, and that I know also that Cæsar
“ reckons M. Cicero in the first class of his
“ friends. Wherefore I beg of you, my Ci-
“ cero, that you will keep yourself free and un-
“ determined, and despise the fidelity of that
“ man who first did you an injury, that he might
“ afterwards do you a kindness; nor fly from
“ him, who, though he should not love you,
“ which is impossible, yet will always desire to
“ see you in safety and splendor. I have sent
“ Calpurnius to you with this, the most inti-
“ mate of my friends, that you might perceive
“ the great concern which I have for your life
“ and dignity¹⁶⁶. ”

Caelius also wrote to him on the same subject; but finding by some hints in Cicero's answer, that he was actually preparing to run away to Pompey, he sent him a second Letter, in a most pathetic, or as Cicero calls it, lamentable strain¹⁶⁷, in hopes to work upon him by alarming all his fears.

Caelius to Cicero.

“ Being in a consternation at your Letter,
“ by which you show that you are meditating
“ nothing but what is dismal, yet neither tell
“ me directly what it is, nor wholly hide it from
“ me, I presently wrote this to you. By all
“ your fortunes, Cicero, by your children, I

“ beg and beseech you, not to take any step in-
“ jurious to your safety: For I call the gods and
“ men, and our friendship to witness, that what
“ I have told, and forewarned you of, was not
“ any vain conceit of my own, but after I had
“ talked with Cæsar, and understood from him,
“ how he resolved to act after his victory, I in-
“ formed you of what I had learnt. If you
“ imagine that his conduct will always be the
“ same, in dismissing his enemies and offering
“ conditions, you are mistaken: he thinks and
“ even talks of nothing but what is fierce and
“ severe, and is gone away much out of humor
“ with the Senate, and thoroughly provoked by
“ the opposition which he has met with, nor will
“ there be any room for mercy. Wherefore, if
“ you yourself, your only son, your house, your
“ remaining hopes be dear to you: if I, if the
“ worthy man, your son-in-law, have any
“ weight with you, you should not desire to
“ overturn our fortunes, and force us to hate or
“ to relinquish that cause in which our safety
“ consists, or to entertain an impious wish against
“ yours. Lastly, reflect on this, that you have
“ already given all the offence which you can
“ give, by staying so long behind; and now to
“ declare against a Conqueror, whom you would
“ not offend, while his cause was doubtful, and
“ to fly after those who run away, with whom
“ you would not join, while they were in con-
“ dition to resist, is the utmost folly. Take
“ care, that while you are ashamed not to

“ approve yourself one of the best Citizens, you
“ be not too hasty in determining what is the
“ best. But if I cannot wholly prevail with
“ you, yet wait at least till you know how we
“ succeed in Spain, which, I now tell you, will
“ be ours as soon as Cæsar comes thither. What
“ hopes they may have when Spain is lost, I
“ know not; and what your view can be in ac-
“ ceding to a desperate cause, by my faith I
“ cannot find out. As to the thing, which you
“ discover to me by your silence about it, Cæsar
“ has been informed of it; and after the first sa-
“ lutation, told me presently what he had heard
“ of you: I denied that I knew any thing of
“ the matter, but begged of him to write to
“ you in a manner the most effectual, to make
“ you stay. He carries me with him into Spain;
“ if he did not, I would run away to you where-
“ ever you are, before I come to Rome, to dis-
“ pute this point with you in person, and hold
“ you fast even by force. Consider, Cicero,
“ again and again, that you do not utterly ruin
“ both you and yours; that you do not know-
“ ingly and willingly throw yourself into diffi-
“ culties, whence you see no way to extricate
“ yourself. But if either the reproaches of the
“ better sort touch you, or you cannot bear the
“ insolence and haughtiness of a certain set of
“ men, I would advise you to chuse some place
“ remote from the war, till these contests be
“ over, which will soon be decided: if you do
“ this, I shall think that you have done wisely,
“ and you will not offend Cæsar.”

Caelius's advice, as well as his practice, was grounded upon a maxim, which he had before advanced in a letter to Cicero, that in a public dissension, as long as it was carried on by civil methods, one ought to take the honefter side; but when it came to arms, the stronger; and to judge that the best which was the safest¹⁶. Cicero was not of his opinion, but governed himself in this, as he generally did, in all other cases, by a contrary rule; that where our duty and our safety interfere, we should adhere always to what is right, whatever danger we incur by it.

Curio paid Cicero a friendly visit of two days about this time on his way towards Sicily, the command of which Cæsar had committed to him. Their conversation turned on the unhappy condition of the times, and the impending miseries of the war, in which Curio was open, and without any reserve, in talking of Cæsar's views: "He exhorted Cicero to chuse some
" neutral place for his retreat; assured him, that
" Cæsar would be pleased with it; offered him
" all kind of accommodation and safe passage
" through Sicily; made not the least doubt, but
" that Cæsar would soon be master of Spain,
" and then follow Pompey with his whole force;
" and that Pompey's death would be the end of
" the war: but confessed withal, that he saw
" no prospect or glimmering of hope for the
" Republic: said, that Cæsar was so provoked
" by the Tribune Metellus at Rome, that he
" had a mind to have killed him, as many of
his

“ his friends advised ; that if he had done it,
“ a great slaughter would have ensued ; that
“ his clemency flowed, not from his natural
“ disposition, but because he thought it po-
“ pular ; and if he once lost the affections of
“ the people, he would be cruel : that he was
“ disturbed to see the people so disgusted by his
“ seizing the public treasure ; and though he
“ had resolved to speak to them before he left
“ Rome, yet he durst not venture upon it for
“ fear of some affront, and went away at last
“ much discomposed ¹⁷⁰. ”

The leaving the public treasure at Rome a prey to Cæsar, is censured more than once by Cicero, as one of the blunders of his friends ¹⁷¹ : but it is a common case in civil dissensions, for the honest side, through the fear of discrediting their cause by any irregular act, to ruin it by an unseasonable moderation. The public money was kept in the Temple of Saturn ; and the Consuls contented themselves with carrying away the keys, fancying, that the sanctity of the place would secure it from violence ; especially when the greatest part of it was a fund of a sacred kind, set apart by the laws for occasions only of the last exigency, or the terror of a Gallic invasion ¹⁷². Pompey was sensible of the mistake, when it was too late, and sent instructions to the Consuls to go back and fetch away this sacred treasure : but Cæsar was then so far advanced, that they durst not venture upon it ; and Lentulus coldly sent him word, that he himself should first march

against Cæsar into Picenum, that they might be able to do it with safety¹⁷³. Cæsar had none of these scruples; but as soon as he came to Rome, ordered “the doors of the Temple to be broke open, and the money to be seized for his own use; and had like to have killed the Tribune Metellus,” who trusting to the authority of his office, was silly enough to attempt to hinder him. He found there an immense treasure, “both in coin and wedges of solid gold, reserved from the spoils of conquered nations from the time even of the Punic war: for the Republic, as Pliny says, had never been richer than it was at this day¹⁷⁴.”

Cicero was now impatient to be gone, and the more so, on account of the inconvenient pomp of his Laurel, and Lictors, and style of Emperor; which in a time of that jealousy and distraction exposed him too much to the eyes of the public, as well as to the taunts and raillery of his enemies¹⁷⁵. He resolved to cross the sea to Pompey; yet knowing all his motions to be narrowly watched, took pains to conceal his intention, especially from Antony, who resided at this time in his neighbourhood, and kept a strict eye upon him. He sent him word therefore by Letter, that he had, “no design against Cæsar; that he remembered his friendship, and his son-in-law Dolabella; that if he had other thoughts, he could easily have been with Pompey; that his chief reason for retiring

“ was to avoid the uneasiness of appearing in
“ public with the formality of his Lictors¹⁷⁶. ”

But Antony wrote him a surly answer, which Cicero calls a Laconic Mandate, and sent a copy of it to Atticus, to let him see, he says, how tyrannically it was drawn.

“ How sincere is your way of acting ? for
“ he, who has a mind to stand neuter, stays at
“ home; he, who goes abroad, seems to pass a
“ judgment on the one side or the other. But
“ it does not belong to me to determine, whe-
“ ther a man may go abroad or not. Cæsar has
“ imposed this task upon me, not to suffer any
“ man to go out of Italy. Wherefore it signifies
“ nothing for me to approve your resolution,
“ if I have no power to indulge you in it. I
“ would have you write to Cæsar, and ask
“ that favor of him: I do not doubt but you
“ will obtain it, especially since you promise to
“ retain a regard for our friendship¹⁷⁷. ”

After this Letter, Antony never came to see him, but sent an excuse, that he was ashamed to do it, because he took him to be angry with him, giving him to understand at the same time by Trebatius, that he had special orders to observe his motions¹⁷⁸.

These Letters give us the most sensible proof of the high esteem and credit in which Cicero flourished at this time in Rome: when in a contest for Empire, which force alone was to decide, we see the chiefs on both sides so solicitous to gain a man to their party, who had

no peculiar skill in arms or talents for war: but his name and authority was the acquisition which they sought; since whatever was the fate of their arms, the world, they knew, would judge better of the cause which Cicero espoused. The same Letters will confute likewise in a great measure the common opinion of his want of resolution in all cases of difficulty, since no man could show a greater than he did on the present occasion, when against the importunities of his friends, and all the invitations of a successful power, he chose to follow that cause which he thought the best, though he knew it to be the weakest.

During Cæsar's absence in Spain, Antony, who had nobody to control him at home, gave a free course to his natural disposition, and indulged himself without reserve in all the excess of lewdness and luxury. Cicero describing his usual equipage in travelling about Italy, says, "he carries with him in an open Chaise the
" famed Actress Cytheris; his wife follows in a
" second, with seven other close Litters, full of
" his whores and boys. See by what base hands
" we fall; and doubt, if you can, whether Cæ-
" sar, let him come vanquished or victorious,
" will not make cruel work amongst us at his
" return. For my part, if I cannot get a ship,
" I will take a boat to transport myself out of
" their reach; but I shall tell you more after I
" have had a conference with Antony¹⁷⁹." Among Antony's other extravagancies, he had the

insolence to appear sometimes in public, with his mistress Cytheris in a Chariot drawn by Lions. Cicero alluding to this, in a Letter to Atticus, tells him jocosely, that he need not be afraid of Antony's Lions¹⁸⁰; for though the beasts were so fierce, the master himself was very tame.

Pliny speaks of this fact, as a designed insult on the Roman people; as if by the emblem of the Lions, Antony intended to give them to understand, that the fiercest spirits of them would be forced to submit to the yoke¹⁸¹: Plutarch also mentions it; but both of them place it after the battle of Pharsalia, though it is evident from this hint of it given by Cicero, that it happened long before.

Whilst Cicero continued at Formiæ, deliberating on the measures of his conduct, he formed several political theses, adapted to the circumstances of the times, for the amusement of his solitary hours: "Whether a man ought
" to stay in his country, when it was possessed
" by a Tyrant: whether one ought not by all
" means to attempt the dissolution of the Ty-
" ranny, though the City on that account was
" exposed to the utmost hazard: whether there
" was not cause to be afraid of the man who
" should dissolve it, lest he should advance him-
" self into the other's place: whether we should
" not help our country by the methods of peace,
" rather than war: whether it be the part of a
" Citizen to sit still in a neutral place, while
" his country is oppressed, or to run all hazards

“ for the sake of the common liberty: whe-
 “ ther one ought to bring a war upon his city,
 “ and besiege it, when in the hands of a Ty-
 “ rant: whether a man, not approving the dis-
 “ solution of a Tyranny by war, ought not to
 “ join himself, however, to the best Citizens:
 “ whether one ought to act with his benefactors
 “ and friends, though they do not in his opi-
 “ nion take right measures for the public in-
 “ terest: whether a man, who has done great
 “ services to his country, and for that reason
 “ has been envied and cruelly treated, is still
 “ bound to expose himself to fresh dangers for
 “ it, or may not be permitted at last to take
 “ care of himself and his family, and give up
 “ all political matters to the men of power — by
 “ exercising myself,” says he, “ in these questions,
 “ and examining them on the one side and the
 “ other, I relieve my mind from its present an-
 “ xiety, and draw out something which may be
 “ of use to me ¹⁸². ”

From the time of his leaving the City, toge-
 ther with Pompey and the Senate, there passed
 not a single day in which he did not write one or
 more Letters to Atticus ¹⁸³, the only friend whom
 he trusted with the secret of his thoughts. From
 these letters it appears, that the sum of At-
 ticus's advice to him agreed entirely with his own
 sentiments, that if Pompey remained in Italy, he
 ought to join with him; if not, should stay behind,
 and expect what fresh accidents might produce ¹⁸⁴.
 This was what Cicero had hitherto followed;

and as to his future conduct, though he seems sometimes to be a little wavering and irresolute, yet the result of his deliberations constantly turned in favor of Pompey. His personal affection for the man, preference of his cause, the reproaches of the better sort, who began to censure his tardiness, and above all, his gratitude for favors received, which had ever the greatest weight with him, made him resolve at all adventures to run after him; and though he was displeased with his management of the war, and without any hopes of his success¹⁸⁵; though he knew him before to be no politician, and now perceived him, he says, to be no general; yet with all his faults, he could not endure the thought of deserting him, nor hardly forgive himself for staying so long behind him: "For as in love," says he, "any thing dirty
" and indecent in a mistress will stifle it for the
" present, so the deformity of Pompey's conduct
" put me out of humor with him; but now that
" he is gone, my love revives, and I cannot bear
" his absence, &c.¹⁸⁶."

What held him still a while longer was the tears of his family, and the remonstrances of his daughter Tullia, who entreated him to wait only the issue of the Spanish war, and urged it as the advice of Atticus¹⁸⁷. He was passionately fond of this daughter; and with great reason; for she was a woman of singular accomplishments, with the utmost affection and piety to him: speaking of her to Atticus, "how admirable," says he, "is
" her virtue? how does she bear the public

“ calamity? how her domestic disgusts? what a
“ greatness of mind did she show at my parting
“ from them? in spite of the tenderness of her
“ love, she wishes me to do nothing but what
“ is right, and for my honor ¹⁸⁸. ” But as to
the affair of Spain, he answered, “ that what-
“ ever was the fate of it, it could not alter the
“ case with regard to himself; for if Cæsar should
“ be driven out of it, his journey to Pompey
“ would be less welcome and reputable, since
“ Curio himself would run over to him: or if the
“ war was drawn into length, there would be no
“ end of waiting: or lastly, if Pompey’s army
“ should be beaten, instead of sitting still, as they
“ advised, he thought just the contrary, and should
“ the rather chuse to run away from the violence
“ of such a victory. He resolved therefore,” he
says, “ to act nothing craftily: but whatever be-
“ came of Spain, to find out Pompey as soon as
“ he could, in conformity to Solon’s law, who
“ made it capital for a Citizen not to take part
“ in a civil dissension ¹⁸⁹.

Before his going off, Servius Sulpicius sent him word from Rome, that he had a great desire to have a conference with him, to consult in common what measures they ought to take. Cicero consented to it, in hopes to find Servius in the same mind with himself, and to have his company to Pompey’s camp: for in answer to his message, he intimated his own intention of leaving Italy; and if Servius was not in the same resolution, advised him to save himself the trouble of the journey, though

if he had any thing of moment to communicate, he would wait for his coming ¹⁹⁰. But at their meeting he found him so timorous and desponding, and so full of scruples upon every thing which was proposed, that instead of pressing him to the same conduct with himself, he found it necessary to conceal his own design from him: "of all the men," says he, "whom I have met with, he is alone a greater Coward than C. Marcellus, who laments his having been Consul; and urges Antony to hinder my going, that he himself may stay with a better grace ¹⁹¹."

Cato, whom Pompey had sent to possess himself of Sicily, thought fit to quit that post; and yield up the Island to Curio, who came likewise to seize it on Cæsar's part with a superior force. Cicero was much scandalized at Cato's conduct, being persuaded that he might have held his possession without difficulty, and that all honest men would have flocked to him, especially when Pompey's fleet was so near to support him: for if that had but once appeared on the coast, and begun to act, Curio himself, as he confessed, would have run away the first. I wish, says Cicero, that Cotta may hold out Sardinia as it is said he will: for if so, how base will Cato's act appear ¹⁹².

In these Circumstances, while he was preparing all things for his voyage, and waiting only for a fair wind, he removed from his Cuman to his Pompeian Villa beyond Naples, which, not being

so commodious for an embarkment, would help to lessen the suspicion of his intended flight ¹⁹³. Here he received a private message from the Officers of three Cohorts, which were in garrison at Pompeii, to beg leave to wait upon him the day following, in order to deliver up their troops and the town into his hands; but instead of listening to the overture, he slipped away the next morning before day to avoid seeing them, since such a force or a greater could be of no service there; and he was apprehensive that it was designed only as a trap for him ¹⁹⁴.

Thus pursuing at last the result of all his deliberations, and preferring the consideration of duty to that of his safety, he embarked to follow Pompey; and though from the nature of the war, he plainly saw and declared, “that
“it was a contention only for rule; yet he
“thought Pompey the modester, honefter and
“juster King of the two; and if he did not conquer, that the very name of the Roman people would be extinguished; or if he did, that
“it would still be after the manner and pattern
“of Sylla, with much cruelty and blood ¹⁹⁵.” With these melancholy reflections he set sail on the eleventh of June ¹⁹⁶, “rushing,” as he tells us, “knowingly and willingly into voluntary
“destruction, and doing just what cattle do
“when driven by any force, running after those
“of his own kind; for as the ox,” says he, “follows the herd, so I follow the honest, or those
“at least, who are called so, though it be to

“certain ruin ¹⁹⁷.” As to his brother Quintus, he was so far from desiring his company in this flight, that he pressed him to stay in Italy on account of his personal obligations to Cæsar, and the relation he had born to him: yet Quintus would not be left behind; but declared, that he would follow his Brother, whithersoever he should lead, and think that party right which he should chuse for him ¹⁹⁸.

What gave Cicero a more particular abhorrence of the war, into which he was entering, was, to see Pompey on all occasions affecting to imitate Sylla, and to hear him often say with a superior air, could Sylla do such a thing, and cannot I do it? as if determined to make Sylla's victory the pattern of his own. He was now in much the same circumstances in which that Conqueror had once been; sustaining the cause of the Senate by his arms, and treated as an enemy by those who possessed Italy; and as he flattered himself with the same good fortune, so he was meditating the same kind of return, and threatening ruin and proscription to all his enemies. This frequently shocked Cicero, as we find from many of his Letters, to consider with what cruelty and effusion of civil blood the success even of his own friends would certainly be attended ¹⁹⁹.

We have no account of the manner and circumstances of his voyage, or by what course he steered towards Dyrrhachium; for after his leaving Italy, all his correspondence with it was in great measure cut off, so that from June, in

which he failed, we find an intermission of about nine months in the series of his Letters, and not more than four of them written to Atticus during the continuance of the war ²⁰⁰. He arrived, however, safely in Pompey's camp with his son, his brother, and nephew, committing the fortunes of the whole family to the issue of that cause: and that he might make some amends for coming so late, and gain the greater authority with his party, he furnished Pompey, who was in great want of money, with a large sum out of his own stock for the public service ²⁰¹.

But as he entered into the war with reluctance, so he found nothing in it but what increased his disgust: he disliked every thing which they had done, or designed to do; saw nothing good amongst them but their cause; and that their own counsels would ruin them: for all the chiefs of the party trusting to the superior fame and authority of Pompey, and dazzled with the splendor of the troops, which the Princes of the East had sent to their assistance, assured themselves of victory; and, without reflecting on the different character of the two armies, would hear of nothing but fighting. It was Cicero's business therefore to discourage this wild spirit, and to represent the hazard of the war, the force of Cæsar, and the probability of his beating them, if ever they ventured a battle with him: but all his remonstrances were slighted, and he himself reproached as timorous and cowardly by the other Leaders: though nothing afterwards happened to

them, but what he had often foretold²⁰². This soon made him repent of embarking in a cause so imprudently conducted; and it added to his discontent, to find himself even blamed by Cato for coming to them at all; and deserting that neutral post, which might have given him the better opportunity of bringing about an accommodation²⁰³.

In this disagreeable situation he declined all employment, and finding his counsels wholly slighted, resumed his usual way of raillery, and what he could not dissuade by his authority, endeavoured to make ridiculous by his jests. This gave occasion afterwards to Antony, in a speech to the Senate, to censure the levity of his behaviour in the calamity of a civil war, and to reflect not only upon his fears, but the unseasonableness also of his jokes: to which Cicero answered, "that
" though their camp indeed was full of care
" and anxiety, yet in circumstances the most
" turbulent, there were certain moments of relaxation, which all men, who had any humanity in them, were glad to lay hold on: but
" while Antony reproached him both with dejection and joking at the same time, it was a
" sure proof that he had observed a proper temper and moderation in them both²⁰⁴.

Young Brutus was also in Pompey's camp, where he distinguished himself by a peculiar zeal: which Cicero mentions as the more remarkable, because he had always professed an irreconcilable hatred to Pompey, as to the murderer

of his Father²⁰⁵. But he followed the cause, not the man; sacrificing all his resentments to the service of his country, and looking now upon Pompey as the General of the Republic, and the defender of their common liberty.

During the course of this war Cicero never speaks of Pompey's conduct but as a perpetual succession of blunders. His first step of leaving Italy was condemned indeed by all, but particularly by Atticus; yet to us at this distance, it seems not only to have been prudent, but necessary²⁰⁶. What shocked people so much at it was the discovery that it made of his weakness and want of preparation; and after the security which he had all along affected, and the defiance so oft declared against his adversary, it made him appear contemptible to run away at last on the first approach of Cæsar: "Did you ever see," says Cælius, "a more silly creature than this Pompey of yours; who, after raising all this bustle, is found to be such a trifler? or did you ever read or hear of a man more vigorous in action, more temperate in victory, than our Cæsar²⁰⁷?"

Pompey had left Italy about a year before Cæsar found it convenient to go after him; during which time he had gathered a vast fleet from all the maritime States and Cities dependent on the Empire, without making any use of it to distress an enemy who had no fleet at all: he suffered Sicily and Sardinia to fall into Cæsar's hands, without a blow, and the important town of Mar-

seilles, after having endured a long siege for its affection to his cause: but his capital error was the giving up Spain, and neglecting to put himself at the head of the best army that he had, in a country devoted to his interests, and commodious for the operations of his naval force: when Cicero first heard of this resolution, he thought it monstrous²⁰⁸; and in truth, the committing that war to his Lieutenants against the superior genius and ascendant of Cæsar, was the ruin of his best troops and hopes at once.

Some have been apt to wonder, why Cæsar, after forcing Pompey out of Italy, instead of crossing the sea after him, when he was in no condition to resist, should leave him for the space of a year to gather armies and fleets at his leisure, and strengthen himself, with all the forces of the East. But Cæsar had good reasons for what he did: he knew that all the troops, which could be drawn together from those countries, were no match for his; that if he had pursued him directly to Greece, and driven him out of it, as he had done out of Italy, he should have driven him probably into Spain, where of all places he desired the least to meet him; and where in all events Pompey had a sure resource, as long as it was possessed by a firm and veteran army; which it was Cæsar's business therefore to destroy in the first place, or he could expect no success from the war; and there was no opportunity of destroying it so favorably, as when Pompey himself was at such a distance from it. This was the reason of

his marching back with so much expedition to find, as he said, an army without a General, and return to a General without an army²⁰⁹. The event showed, that he judged right; for within forty days from the first fight of his enemy in Spain, he made himself master of the whole Province²¹⁰.

A. Urb. 705. After the reduction of Spain, he was created
Cic. 59. Dictator by M. Lepidus, then Prætor at Rome,
Coff. and by his Dictatorial power declared himself
C. JULIUS Consul, with P. Servilius Isauricus; but he was
CÆSAR II. no sooner invested with this office, than he
P. SERVILI- marched to Brundisium, and embarked on the
US VATA fourth of January, in order to find out Pompey.
ISAUICUS. The carrying about in his person the supreme dignity of the Empire, added no small authority to his cause, by making the Cities and States abroad the more cautious of acting against him, or giving them a better pretence at least for opening their gates to the Consul of Rome — ²¹¹. Cicero all this while despairing of any good from the war, had been using all his endeavours to dispose his friends to peace, till Pompey forbade any farther mention of it in council, declaring, that he valued neither life nor country, for which he must be indebted to Cæsar, as the world must take the case to be, should he accept any conditions in his present circumstances²¹². He was sensible that he had hitherto been acting a contemptible part, and done nothing equal to the great name which he had acquired in the world; and was determined therefore, to retrieve his honor before
 he

he laid down his arms, by the destruction of his adversary, or to perish in the attempt.

During the blockade of Dyrrhachium, it was a current notion in Cæsar's army, that Pompey would draw off his troops into his ships, and remove the war to some distant place. Upon this Dolabella, who was with Cæsar, sent a Letter to Cicero into Pompey's Camp, exhorting him, " that if Pompey should be driven from these
" quarters, to seek some other country, he would
" sit down quietly at Athens, or any City remote
" from the war: that it was time to think of his
" own safety, and be a friend to himself, rather
" than to others, that he had now fully satisfied
" his duty, his friendship, and his engagements to
" that party, which he had espoused in the Re-
" public: that there was nothing left, but to be,
" where the Republic itself now was, rather than
" by following that ancient one to be in none at
" all — and that Cæsar would readily approve
" this conduct ²¹³:" but the war took a quite different turn; and instead of Pompey's running away from Dyrrhachium, Cæsar, by an unexpected defeat before it, was forced to retire the first, and leave to Pompey the credit of pursuing him, as in a kind of flight towards Macedonia.

While the two armies were thus employed, Cælius, now Prætor at Rome, trusting to his power, and the success of his party, began to publish several violent and odious laws, especially one for the cancelling of all debts ²¹⁴. This raised a great flame in the City, till he was over-ruled

and deposed from his magistracy by the Consul Servilius, and the Senate: but being made desperate by this affront, he recalled Milo from his exile at Marseilles, whom Cæsar had refused to restore; and, in concert with him, resolved to raise some public commotion in favor of Pompey. In this disposition he wrote his last Letter to Cicero; in which, after an account of his conversion, and the service which he was projecting, “You are asleep,” says he, “and do not know how
“open and weak we are here: what are you doing? are you waiting for a battle, which is
“sure to be against you? I am not acquainted
“with your troops; but ours have been long used
“to fight hard; and to bear cold and hunger with
“ease.” But this disturbance, which began to alarm all Italy, was soon ended by the death of the Authors of it, Milo and Cælius; who perished in their rash attempt, being destroyed by the soldiers, whom they were endeavouring to debauch. They had both attached themselves very early to the interests and the authority of Cicero, and were qualified by their parts and fortunes to have made a principal figure in the Republic, if they had continued in those sentiments, and adhered to his advice; but their passions, pleasures, and ambition got the ascendant; and through a factious and turbulent life hurried them on to this wretched fate.

All thoughts of peace being now laid aside, Cicero's next advice to Pompey was, to draw the war into length, nor ever to give Cæsar the

opportunity of a battle. Pompey approved this counsel, and pursued it for some time, till he gained the advantage above-mentioned before Dyrrhachium; which gave him such a confidence in his own troops, and such a contempt of Cæsar's, "that from this moment," says Cicero, "this great man ceased to be a General; opposed a raw, new-raised army, to the most robust and veteran Legions; was shamefully beaten; and, with the loss of his Camp, forced to fly away alone²¹⁶."

Had Cicero's advice been followed, Cæsar must inevitably have been ruined: for Pompey's fleet would have cut off all supplies from him by sea; and it was not possible for him to subsist long at land; while an enemy, superior in number of troops, was perpetually harassing him, and wasting the country: and the report every where spread of his flying from Dyrrhachium before a victorious army, which was pursuing him, made his march every way the more difficult, and the people of the country more shy of assisting him: till the despicable figure, that he seemed to make, raised such an impatience for fighting, and assurance of victory in the Pompeian chiefs, as drew them to the fatal resolution of giving him battle at Pharsalia. There was another motive likewise suggested to us by Cicero, which seems to have had no small influence in determining Pompey to this unhappy step; his superstitious regard to omens, and the admonitions of Diviners; to which his nature was strongly addicted. The Haruspices

were all on his side, and flattered him with every thing that was prosperous: and besides those in his own camp, the whole fraternity of them at Rome were sending him perpetual accounts of the fortunate and auspicious significations which they had observed in the entrails of their victims²¹⁷.

But after all, it must needs be owned, that Pompey had a very difficult part to act, and much less liberty of executing what he himself approved, than in all the other wars, in which he had been engaged. In his wars against foreign enemies, his power was absolute, and all his motions depended on his own will; but in this, besides several Kings and Princes of the East, who attended him in person, he had with him in his Camp almost all the chief Magistrates and Senators of Rome; men of equal dignity with himself, who had commanded armies, and obtained triumphs, and expected a share in all his counsels, and that in their common danger, no step should be taken, but by their common advice: and as they were under no engagement to his cause, but what was voluntary, so they were necessarily to be humored, lest through disgust they should desert it. Now these were all uneasy in their present situation, and longed to be at home in the enjoyment of their estates and honors; and having a confidence of victory from the number of their troops, and the reputation of their Leader, were perpetually teasing Pompey to the resolution of a battle; charging him with a design to

protract the war, for the sake of perpetuating his authority; and calling him another Agamemnon, who was proud of holding so many Kings and Generals under his command²¹⁸; till, being unable to withstand their reproaches any longer, he was driven by a kind of shame, and against his judgment, to the experiment of a decisive action.

Cæsar was sensible of Pompey's difficulty, and persuaded, that he could not support the indignity of showing himself afraid of fighting; and from that assurance exposed himself often more rashly than prudence would otherwise justify: for his besieging Pompey at Dyrrhachium, who was master of the sea, which supplied every thing to him that was wanted, while his own army was starving at land; and the attempt to block up intrenchments so widely extended, with much smaller numbers than were employed to defend them, must needs be thought rash and extravagant, were it not for the expectation of drawing Pompey by it to a general engagement: for when he could not gain that end, his perseverance in the siege had like to have ruined him, and would inevitably have done so, if he had not quitted it, as he himself afterwards owned²¹⁹.

It must be observed likewise, that while Pompey had any walls or intrenchments between him and Cæsar, not all Cæsar's vigor, nor the courage of his veterans, could gain the least advantage against him; but on the contrary, that Cæsar was baffled and disappointed in every attempt.

Thus at Brundisium he could make no impression upon the Town, till Pompey at full leisure had secured his retreat, and embarked his troops, and at Dyrrhachium, the only considerable action, which happened between them, was not only disadvantageous, but almost fatal to him. Thus far Pompey certainly showed himself the greater Captain, in not suffering a force, which he could not resist in the field to do him any hurt, or carry any point against him; since that depended on the skill of the General. By the help of intrenchments he knew how to make his new-raised soldiers a match for Cæsar's veterans, but when he was drawn to encounter him on the open plain, he fought against insuperable odds, by deserting his proper arms, as Cicero says, of caution, counsel, and authority, in which he was superior, and committing his fate to swords and spears, and bodily strength, in which his enemies far excelled him²²⁰.

Cicero was not present at the battle of Pharsalia, but was left behind at Dyrrhachium much out of humor, as well as out of order: his discontent to see all things going wrong on that side, and contrary to his advice, had brought upon him an ill habit of body, and weak state of health; which made him decline all public command; but he promised Pompey to follow, and continue with him as soon as his health permitted²²¹; and as a pledge of his sincerity, sent his son in the mean while along with him, who, though very young, behaved himself gallantly, and acquired

great applause by his dexterity of riding and throwing the javeline, and performing every other part of military discipline at the head of one of the wings of Horse, of which Pompey had given him the command²²². Cato staid behind also in the camp at Dyrrhachium, which he commanded with fifteen Cohorts, when Labienus brought them the news of Pompey's defeat, upon which Cato offered the command to Cicero as the superior in dignity; and upon his refusal of it, as Plutarch tells us, young Pompey was so enraged, that he drew his sword, and would have killed him upon the spot, if Cato had not prevented it. This fact is not mentioned by Cicero, yet seems to be referred to in his speech for Marcellus, where he says, that in the very war, he had been a perpetual assertor of peace, to the hazard even of his life²²³. But the wretched news from Pharsalia threw them all into such a consternation, that they presently took shipping, and dispersed themselves severally, as their hopes or inclinations led them, into the different provinces of the Empire²²⁴. The greatest part who were determined to renew the war, went directly into Africa, the general rendezvous of their scattered forces: whilst others, who were disposed to expect the farther issue of things, and take such measures as fortune offered, retired to Achaia: but Cicero was resolved to make this the end of the war to himself; and recommended the same conduct to his friends: declaring, that as

they had been no match for Cæsar, when entire, they could not hope to beat him, when shattered and broken²²; and so after a miserable campaign of about eighteen months, he committed himself without hesitation to the mercy of the Conqueror and landed again at Brundisium about the end of October.

SECT. VIII.

CICERO no sooner returned to Italy, than he began to reflect, that he had been too hasty in coming home, before the war was determined, and without any invitation from the Conqueror; and in a time of that general licence, had reason to apprehend some insult from the soldiers, if he ventured to appear in public with his Fasces and Laurel; and yet to drop them, would be a diminution of that honor, which he had received from the Roman people, and the acknowledgment of a power superior to the laws: he condemned himself therefore for not continuing abroad, in some convenient place of retirement, till he had been sent for, or things were better settled. What gave him the greater reason to repent of this step was, a message that he received from Antony, who governed all in Cæsar's absence, and with the same churlish spirit, with which he would have held him before in Italy against his will, seemed now disposed to drive him out of it: for he sent him the copy of a Letter from Cæsar, in which Cæsar signified, "that he had heard, that Cato and Metellus were at Rome, and appeared openly there, which might occasion some disturbance: wherefore he strictly enjoined, that none should be suffered to come to Italy without a special licence from himself. Antony

A. Urb. 706.

Cic. 60.

Coff.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR

Dictator II.

M. ANTO-

NIUS Mag.

Equit.

“ therefore desired Cicero to excuse him, since
“ he could not help obeying Cæsar’s commands:
“ but Cicero sent L. Lamia to assure him, that
“ Cæsar had ordered Dolabella to write to him to
“ come to Italy as soon as he pleased; and that
“ he came upon the authority of Dolabella’s Letter:
“ ter:” so that Antony in the Edict, which he published to exclude the Pompeians from Italy, excepted Cicero by name: which added still to his mortification; since all his desire was to be connived at only, or tacitly permitted, without being personally distinguished from the rest of his party.

But he had several other grievances of a domestic kind, which concurred also to make him unhappy: his Brother Quintus, with his Son, after their escape from Pharsalia, followed Cæsar into Asia, to obtain their pardon from him in person. Quintus had particular reason to be afraid of his resentment, on account of the relation which he had born to him, as one of his Lieutenants in Gaul, where he had been treated by him with great generosity; so that Cicero himself would have dissuaded him from going over to Pompey, but could not prevail: yet in this common calamity, Quintus, in order to make his own peace the more easily, resolved to throw all the blame upon his Brother, and for that purpose made it the subject of all his Letters and Speeches to Cæsar’s friends, to rail at him in a manner the most inhuman.

Cicero was informed of this from all quarters, and that young Quintus, who was sent before

towards Cæsar, had read an oration to his friends, which he had prepared to speak to him against his Uncle. Nothing, as Cicero says, ever happened more shocking to him; and though he had no small diffidence of Cæsar's inclination, and many enemies laboring to do him ill offices, yet his greatest concern was, lest his Brother and Nephew should hurt themselves rather than him, by their perfidy³. For under all the sense of this provocation his behaviour was just the reverse of theirs: and having been informed, that Cæsar in a certain conversation, had charged his Brother with being the author of their going away to Pompey, he took occasion to write to him in the following terms:

“ As for my Brother, I am not less solicitous
“ for his safety, than my own; but in my pre-
“ sent situation dare not venture to recommend
“ him to you: all that I can pretend to, is, to
“ beg that you will not believe him to have ever
“ done any thing towards obstructing my good
“ offices and affection to you; but rather, that
“ he was always the adviser of our union, and
“ the companion, not the leader of my voyage:
“ wherefore in all other respects, I leave it to
“ you to treat him, as your own humanity, and
“ his friendship with you require; but I entreat
“ you in the most pressing manner, that I may
“ not be the cause of hurting him with you on
“ any account whatsoever⁴. ”

He found himself likewise at this time in some distress for want of money, which in that season

of public distraction, it was very difficult to procure, either by borrowing or selling : the sum, which he advanced to Pompey, had drained him : and his wife, by her indulgence to stewards, and favorite servants, had made great waste of what was left at home : and instead of saving any thing from their rents, had plunged him deeply into debt ; so that Atticus's purse was the chief fund which he had to trust to for his present support'.

The conduct of Dolabella was a farther mortification to him ; who by the fiction of an adoption into a plebeian family, had obtained the tribunate this year, and was raising great tumults and disorders in Rome, by a law, which he published, to expunge all debts. Laws of that kind had been often attempted by desperate or ambitious Magistrates ; but were always detested by the better sort, and particularly by Cicero, who treats them as pernicious to the peace and prosperity of states, and sapping the very foundations of civil Society, by destroying all faith and credit among men'. No wonder therefore that we find him taking this affair so much to heart, and complaining so heavily, in many of his Letters to Atticus, of the famed acts of his Son-in-law, as an additional source of affliction and disgrace to him'. Dolabella was greatly embarrassed in his fortunes, and while he was with Cæsar abroad, seems to have left his wife destitute of necessaries at home, and forced to recur to her Father for her subsistence. Cicero likewise, either through the difficulty of the times, or for want of a suf-

ficient settlement on Dolabella's part, had not yet paid all her fortune; which it was usual to do at three different payments, within a time limited by law: he had discharged the two first, and was now preparing to make the third payment, which he frequently and pressingly recommends to the care of Atticus'. But Dolabella's whole life and character were so entirely contrary to the manners and temper both of Cicero and Tullia, that a divorce ensued between them not long after, though the account of it is delivered so darkly, that it is hard to say at what time, or from what side it first arose.

In these circumstances Tullia paid her father a visit at Brundisium on the thirteenth of June: but his great love for her made their meeting only the more afflicting to him in that abject state of their fortunes: "I was so far," says he, "from taking that pleasure which I ought to have done from the virtue, humanity, and piety of an excellent daughter, that I was exceedingly grieved to see so deserving a Creature in such an unhappy condition, not by her own, but wholly by my fault: I saw no reason therefore for keeping her longer here, in this our common affliction: but was willing to send her back to her mother as soon as she would consent to it'."

At Brundisium he received the news of Pompey's death, which did not surprise him, as we find from the short reflection that he makes upon it: "As to Pompey's end," says he, "I never had

“ any doubt about it : for the lost and desperate
“ state of his affairs had so possessed the minds of
“ all the kings and states abroad, that whithersoever
“ he went, I took it for granted that this would
“ be his fate : I cannot however help grieving
“ at it ; for I knew him to be an honest, grave
“ and worthy man¹⁰.”

This was the short and true character of the man from one who perfectly knew him ; not heightened, as we sometimes find it, by the shining colors of his eloquence ; nor depressed by the darker strokes of his resentment. Pompey had early acquired the surname of the Great, by that sort of merit, which, from the constitution of the Republic, necessarily made him Great ; a fame and success in war, superior to what Rome had ever known in the most celebrated of her Generals. He had triumphed at three several times over the three different parts of the known world, Europe, Asia, Africa, and by his victories had almost doubled the extent, as well as the revenues of the Roman dominion ; for as he declared to the people on his return from the Mithridatic war, he had found the Lesser Asia the boundary, but left it the middle of their Empire. He was about six years older than Cæsar ; and while Cæsar immersed in pleasures, oppressed with debts, and suspected by all honest men, was hardly able to show his head ; Pompey was flourishing in the height of power and glory, and by the consent of all parties placed at the head of the Republic. This was the post that his ambition seemed to aim at,

to be the first man in Rome; the Leader, not the Tyrant of his Country: for he more than once had it in his power to have made himself the master of it without any risk, if his virtue or his phlegm at least had not restrained him: but he lived in a perpetual expectation of receiving from the gift of the people, what he did not care to seize by force; and by fomenting the disorders of the City, hoped to drive them to the necessity of creating him Dictator. It is an observation of all the historians, that while Cæsar made no difference of power, whether it was conferred or usurped: whether over those who loved, or those who feared him; Pompey seemed to value none but what was offered; nor to have any desire to govern, but with the good will of the governed. What leisure he found from his wars, he employed in the study of polite Letters, and especially of eloquence, in which he would have acquired great fame, if his genius had not drawn him to the more dazzling glory of arms: yet he pleaded several causes with applause, in the defence of his friends and clients; and some of them in conjunction with Cicero. His language was copious and elevated; his sentiments just; his voice sweet; his action noble, and full of dignity. But his talents were better formed for arms, than the gown: for though in both he observed the same discipline, a perpetual modesty, temperance, and gravity of outward behaviour; yet in the licence of camps, the example was more rare and striking. His person was extremely graceful, and imprinting

respect; yet with an air of reserve and haughtiness, which became the General better than the Citizen. His parts were plausible, rather than great; specious rather than penetrating; and his view of politics but narrow; for his chief instrument of governing was, dissimulation; yet he had not always the art to conceal his real sentiments. As he was a better soldier than a statesman, so what he gained in the Camp he usually lost in the City; and though adored, when abroad, was often affronted and mortified at home; till the imprudent opposition of the Senate drove him to that alliance with Crassus and Cæsar, which proved fatal both to himself and the Republic. He took in these two, not as the partners, but the ministers rather of his power; that by giving them some share with him, he might make his own authority uncontrollable: he had no reason to apprehend, that they could ever prove his Rivals; since neither of them had any credit or character of that kind, which alone could raise them above the laws; a superior fame and experience in war, with the militia of the empire at their devotion: all this was purely his own; till by cherishing Cæsar, and throwing into his hands the only thing which he wanted, arms and military command; he made him at last too strong for himself, and never began to fear him, till it was too late: Cicero warmly dissuaded both his union and his breach with Cæsar; and after the rupture, as warmly still, the thought of giving him battle: if any of these counsels had been followed,

followed, Pompey had preserved his life and honor, and the Republic its liberty. But he was urged to his fate by a natural superstition, and attention to those vain auguries, with which he was flattered by all the Haruspices: he had seen the same temper in Marius and Sylla, and observed the happy effects of it: but they assumed it only out of policy, he out of principle. They used it to animate their soldiers, when they had found a probable opportunity of fighting; but he, against all prudence and probability, was encouraged by it to fight to his own ruin. He saw all his mistakes at last, when it was out of his power to correct them; and in his wretched flight from Pharsalia was forced to confess, that he had trusted too much to his hopes; and that Cicero had judged better, and seen farther into things than he. The resolution of seeking refuge in Egypt, finished the sad Catastrophe of this great man: the Father of the reigning Prince had been highly obliged to him for his protection at Rome, and restoration to his kingdom: and the Son had sent a considerable fleet to his assistance in the present war: but in this ruin of his fortunes, what gratitude was there to be expected from a Court, governed by Eunuchs and mercenary Greeks? all whose politics turned, not on the honor of the King, but the establishment of their own power; which was likely to be eclipsed by the admission of Pompey. How happy had it been for him to have died in that sickness, when all Italy was putting up vows and prayers for his

safety? or if he had fallen by the chance of war on the plains of Pharsalia, in the defence of his Country's liberty, he had died still glorious, though unfortunate: but, as if he had been reserved for an example of the instability of human Greatness, he, who a few days before commanded Kings and Consuls, and all the noblest of Rome, was sentenced to die by a council of slaves; murdered by a base deserter, cast out naked and headless on the Egyptian strand; and when the whole earth, as Velleius says, had scarce been sufficient for his victories, could not find a spot upon it at last for a grave. His body was burnt on the shore by one of his freedmen, with the planks of an old fishing-boat; and his ashes being conveyed to Rome, were deposited privately by his wife Cornelia in a Vault of his Alban Villa. The Egyptians, however, raised a monument to him on the place, and adorned it with figures of brass, which being defaced afterwards by time, and buried almost in sand and rubbish, was sought out and restored by the Emperor Hadrian¹¹.

On the news of Pompey's death, Cæsar was declared Dictator the second time in his absence, and M. Antony his Master of the Horse, who by virtue of that post governed all things absolutely in Italy. Cicero continued all the while at Brundisium, in a situation wholly disagreeable, and worse to him, he says, than any punishment: for the air of the place began to affect his health, and to the uneasiness of mind added an ill state of body¹²: yet to move nearer towards Rome

without leave from his new Masters, was not thought advisable; nor did Antony encourage it; being pleased rather, we may believe, to see him well mortified: so that he had no hopes of any ease or comfort, but in the expectation of Cæsar's return; which made his stay in that place the more necessary for the opportunity of paying his early compliments to him at landing.

But what gave him the greatest uneasiness was, to be held still in suspense, in what touched him the most nearly, the case of his own safety, and of Cæsar's disposition towards him: for though all Cæsar's friends assured him, not only of pardon, but of all kind of favor; yet he had received no intimation of kindness from Cæsar himself, who was so embarrassed in Egypt, that he had no leisure to think of Italy, and did not so much as write a Letter thither from December to June: for as he had rashly, and out of gaiety, as it were, involved himself there in a most desperate war, to the hazard of all his fortunes; he was ashamed, as Cicero says¹³, to write any thing about it, till he had extricated himself out of that difficulty.

His enemies in the mean time had greatly strengthened themselves in Africa, where P. Varus, who first seized it on the part of the Republic, was supported by all the force of King Juba, Pompey's fast friend, and had reduced the whole Province to his obedience; for Curio, after he had driven Cato out of Sicily, being ambitious to drive Varus also out of Africa, and having transported thither the best part of four legions, which Cæsar

had committed to him, was, after some little success upon his landing, entirely defeated and destroyed with his whole army in an engagement with Sabura, King Juba's General.

Curio was a young nobleman of shining parts; admirably formed by nature to adorn that character, in which his father and grandfather had flourished before him, of one of the principal Orators of Rome. Upon his entrance into the Forum, he was committed to the care of Cicero: but a natural propension to pleasure, stimulated by the example and counsels of his perpetual companion Antony, hurried him into all the extravagance of expense and debauchery: for Antony, who always wanted money, with which Curio abounded, was ever obsequious to his will, and ministering to his Lusts, for the opportunity of gratifying his own: so that, no boy purchased for the use of lewdness, was more in a Master's power, than Antony in Curio's. He was equally prodigal of his money, and his modesty; and not only of his own, but of other people's: so that Cicero alluding to the infamous effeminacy of his life, calls him in one of his Letters, Miss Curio. But when the Father, by Cicero's advice, had obliged him by his paternal authority to quit the familiarity of Antony; he reformed his conduct, and adhering to the instructions and maxims of Cicero, became the favorite of the City; the Leader of the young nobility; and a warm assertor of the authority of the Senate, against the power of the Triumvirate. After his Father's death, upon his first taste of public honors,

and admiffion into the Senate, his ambition and thirst of popularity engaged him in fo immense a prodigality, that to fupply the magnificence of his fhow, and plays, with which he entertained the City, he was foon driven to the neceffity of felling himfelf to Cæfar; having no revenue left, as Pliny fays, but from the difcord of his Citizens. For this he is confidered commonly by the old writers, as the chief instrument, and the Trumpet, as it were, of the civil war; in which he juftly fell the firft victim; yet after all his luxury and debauch, fought and died with a courage truly Roman; which would have merited a better fate, if it had been employed in a better caufe: for upon the lofs of the battle and his beft troops, being admonifhed by his friends to fave himfelf by flight, he answered, that after lofing an army, which had been committed to him by Cæfar, he could never fhow his face to him again; and fo continued fighting, till he was killed among the laft of his foldiers¹⁴.

Curio's death happened before the battle of Pharfalia, while Cæfar was engaged in Spain¹⁵: by which means Africa fell entirely into the hands of the Pompeians; and became the general rendezvous of all that party: hither Scipio, Cato, and Labienus, conveyed the remains of their fattered troops from Greece, as Afranius and Petreius likewise did from Spain; till on the whole they had brought together again a more numerous army than Cæfar's, and were in fuch high fpirits, as to talk of coming over with it into Italy, before

Cæsar could return from Alexandria¹⁴. This was confidently given out, and expected at Rome; and in that case, Cicero was sure to be treated as a deserter; for while Cæsar looked upon all men as friends, who did not act against him, and pardoned even enemies, who submitted to his power; it was a declared law on the other side, to consider all as enemies, who were not actually in their Camp¹⁵: so that Cicero had nothing now to wish, either for himself, or the Republic, but in the first place, a peace, of which he had still some hopes¹⁶; or else, that Cæsar might conquer; whose victory was like to prove the more temperate of the two: which makes him often lament the unhappy situation to which he was reduced, where nothing could be of any service to him, but what he had always abhorred¹⁷.

Under this anxiety of mind, it was an additional vexation to him to hear, that his reputation was attacked at Rome, for submitting so hastily to the Conqueror, or putting himself rather at all into his power. Some condemned him for not following Pompey; some more severely for not going to Africa, as the greatest part had done; others, for not retiring with many of his party to Achaia; till they could see the farther progress of the war: as he was always extremely sensible of what was said of him by honest men, so he begs of Atticus to be his advocate; and gives him some hints, which might be urged in his defence. As to the first charge, for not following Pompey, he says, "that Pompey's fate would extenuate

“ the omission of that step: of the second, that
“ though he knew many brave men to be in
“ Africa, yet it was his opinion, that the Republic
“ neither could, nor ought to be defended by
“ the help of so barbarous and treacherous a
“ nation: as to the third, he wishes indeed that
“ he had joined himself to those in Achaia, and
“ owns them to be in a better condition than
“ himself, because they were many of them toge-
“ ther; and whenever they returned to Italy,
“ would be restored to their own at once:”
whereas he was confined like a prisoner of war to
Brundisium, without the liberty of stirring from
it till Cæsar arrived²⁰.

While he continued in this uneasy state, some
of his friends at Rome contrived to send him a
Letter in Cæsar's name, dated the ninth of February
from Alexandria, encouraging him to lay aside all
gloomy apprehensions, and expect every thing
that was kind and friendly from him: but it
was drawn in terms so slight and general, that
instead of giving him any satisfaction, it made him
only suspect, what he perceived afterwards to
be true, that it was forged by Balbus or Oppius,
on purpose to raise his spirits, and administer some
little comfort to him²¹. All his accounts, however,
confirmed to him the report of Cæsar's clemency
and moderation, and his granting pardon without
exception to all who asked it; and with regard to
himself, Cæsar sent Quintus's virulent Letters to
Balbus, with orders to shew them to him, as
a proof of his kindness and dislike of Quintus's

perfidy. But Cicero's present despondency, which interpreted every thing by his fears, made him suspect Cæsar the more, for refusing grace to none; as if such a clemency must needs be affected, and his revenge deferred only to a season more convenient: and as to his Brother's Letters, he fancied, that Cæsar did not send them to Italy, because he condemned them, but to make his present misery and abject condition the more notorious and despicable to every body²².

But after a long series of perpetual mortifications, he was refreshed at last by a very obliging Letter from Cæsar, who confirmed to him the full enjoyment of his former state and dignity, and bad him resume his fasces and style of Emperor as before²³. Cæsar's mind was too great to listen to the tales of the Brother and Nephew; and instead of approving their treachery, seems to have granted them their pardon on Cicero's account, rather than their own; so that Quintus, upon the trial of Cæsar's inclination, began presently to change his note, and to congratulate with his Brother on Cæsar's affection and esteem for him²⁴.

Cicero was now preparing to send his Son to wait upon Cæsar, who was supposed to be upon his journey towards home; but the uncertain accounts of his coming diverted him a while from that thought²⁵; till Cæsar himself prevented it, and relieved him very agreeably from his tedious residence at Brundisium, by his sudden and unexpected arrival in Italy; where he landed at Tarentum in the month of September; and on the

first notice of his coming forward towards Rome, Cicero set out on foot to meet him.

We may easily imagine, what we find indeed from his Letters, that he was not a little discomposed at the thoughts of this interview, and the indignity of offering himself to a Conqueror, against whom he had been in arms, in the midst of a licentious and insolent rabble: for though he had reason to expect a kind reception from Cæsar, yet he hardly thought his life, he says, worth begging, since what was given by a Master, might always be taken away again at pleasure.²⁶ But at their meeting, he had no occasion to say or do any thing that was below his dignity: for Cæsar no sooner saw him, than he alighted and ran to embrace him; and walked with him alone, conversing very familiarly for several furlongs²⁷.

From this interview, Cicero followed Cæsar towards Rome: he proposed to be at Tusculum on the seventh or eighth of October; and wrote to his wife to provide for his reception there, with a large company of friends, who designed to make some stay with him²⁸. From Tusculum he came afterwards to the City, with a resolution to spend his time in study and retreat, till the Republic should be restored to some tolerable state; "having made his peace again, as he writes to Varro, with his old friends, his books, who had been out of humor with him for not obeying their precepts; but instead of living quietly with them, as Varro had done, committing himself to the turbulent counsels and hazards of war, with faithless companions"²⁹.

On Cæsar's return to Rome, he appointed P. Vatinius and Q. Fufius Calenus, Consuls for the three last months of the year: this was a very unpopular use of his new power, which he continued, however, to practise through the rest of his reign; creating these first Magistrates of the State, without any regard to the ancient forms, or recourse to the people, and at any time of the year; which gave a sensible disgust to the City, and an early specimen of the arbitrary manner in which he designed to govern them.

About the end of the year, Cæsar embarked for Africa, to pursue the war against Scipio, and the other Pompeian Generals, who, assisted by King Juba, held the possession of that Province with a vast army. As he was sacrificing for the success of this voyage, the victim happened to break loose and run away from the Altar; which being looked upon as an unlucky Omen, the Aruspex admonished him not to sail before the winter-solstice: but he took ship directly in contempt of the admonition; and by that means, as Cicero says, came upon his enemies unprepared; and before they had drawn together all their forces³⁰. Upon his leaving the City, he declared himself Consul, together with M. Lepidus for the year ensuing; and gave the government of the Hither Gaul to M. Brutus; of Greece, to Servius Sulpicius; the first of whom had been in arms against him at Pharsalia; and the second was a favorer likewise of the Pompeian cause, and a great friend of Cicero, yet seems to have taken no part in the war³¹.

A. Urb. 707.

Cic. 61.

Coff.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR III.

M. ÆMILIUS

LEPIDUS.

The African war now held the whole Empire in suspense; Scipio's name was thought ominous and invincible on that ground: but while the general attention was employed on the expectation of some decisive blow, Cicero despairing of any good from either side, chose to live retired, and out of sight; and whether in the City or the Country, shut himself up with his books; which as he often says, had hitherto been the diversion only, but were now become the support of his life³². In this humor of study he entered into a close friendship and correspondence of Letters with M. Terentius Varro; a friendship equally valued on both sides, and at Varro's desire, immortalized by the mutual dedication of their learned works to each other; of Cicero's Academic Questions to Varro; of Varro's treatise on the Latin Tongue, to Cicero. Varro was a Senator of the first distinction, both for birth and merit; esteemed the most learned man of Rome; and though now above fourscore years old, yet continued still writing and publishing books to his eighty-eighth year³³. He was Pompey's Lieutenant in Spain, in the beginning of the war; but after the defeat of Afranius and Petreius quitted his arms, and retired to his studies; so that his present circumstances were not very different from those of Cicero; who in all his Letters to him, bewails with great freedom the utter ruin of the state; and proposes, "that they should live together in a strict communication of studies, and avoid at least the sight if not the tongues of men; yet so, that

“ if their new Masters should call for their help
“ towards settling the Republic , they should run
“ with pleasure , and assist , not only as archi-
“ tects , but even as masons to build it up again ;
“ or if nobody would employ them , should
“ write and read the best forms of government ;
“ and as the learned ancients had done before
“ them , serve their Country , if not in the Senate
“ and Forum , yet by their books and studies ;
“ and by composing treatises of morals and
“ laws . ”

In this retreat he wrote his book of Oratorical Partitions , or the art of ordering and distributing the parts of an Oration so , as to adapt them in the best manner to their proper end , of moving and persuading an audience. It was written for the instruction of his son , now about eighteen years old , but seems to have been the rude draught only of what he intended , or not to have been finished at least to his satisfaction ; since we find no mention of it in any of his Letters , as of all his other pieces which were prepared for the public.

Another fruit of this leisure was his Dialogue on famous Orators , called Brutus ; in which he gives a short character of all , who had ever flourished either in Greece or Rome , with any reputation of eloquence , down to his own times ; and as he generally touches the principal points of each man's life , so an attentive reader may find in it an Epitome , as it were , of the Roman History. The conference is supposed to be held with Brutus

and Atticus in Cicero's garden at Rome, under the Statue of Plato³; whom he always admired, and usually imitated in the manner of his Dialogues; and in this seems to have copied from him the very form of his double title; Brutus, or of famous Orators; taken from the speaker and the subject, as in Plato's piece, called Phædon, or of the Soul. This work was intended as a supplement, or a fourth book to the three, which he had before published on the complete Orator. But though it was prepared and finished at this time, while Cato was living, as it is intimated in some parts of it, yet, as it appears from the preface, it was not made public till the year following, after the death of his daughter Tullia.

As at the opening of the war we found Cicero in debt to Cæsar, so we now meet with several hints in his Letters of Cæsar's being indebted to him. It arose probably from a mortgage, that Cicero had upon the confiscated estate of some Pompeian, which Cæsar had seized: but of what kind soever it was, Cicero was in pain for his money: "he saw but three ways, he says, of
" getting it; by purchasing the estate at Cæsar's
" auction; or taking an assignment on the pur-
" chafer; or compounding for half with the
" Brokers or Money-jobbers of those times;
" who would advance the money on those terms.
" The first he declares to be base, and that he
" would rather lose his debt, than touch any
" thing confiscated: the second he thought

“ hazardous ; and that nobody would pay any
“ thing in such uncertain times : the third he
“ liked the best , but desires Atticus’s advice
“ upon it ” . ”

He now at last parted with his wife Terentia , whose humor and conduct had long been uneasy to him : this drew upon him some censure ; for putting away a wife , who had lived with him above thirty years , the faithful partner of his bed and fortunes ; and the mother of two Children , extremely dear to him. But she was a woman of an imperious and turbulent spirit ; expensive and negligent in her private affairs ; busy and intriguing in the public ; and , in the height of her husband’s power , seems to have had the chief hand in the distribution of all his favors. He had easily born her perverseness in the vigor of health , and the flourishing state of his fortunes ; but in a declining life , soured by a continual succession of mortifications from abroad , the want of ease and quiet at home was no longer tolerable to him : the divorce , however , was not likely to cure the difficulties , in which her management had involved him : for she had brought him a great fortune , which was all to be restored to her at parting : this made a second marriage necessary , in order to repair the ill state of his affairs ; and his friends of both sexes were busy in providing a fit match for him : several parties were proposed to him , and among others , a daughter of Pompey the Great ; for whom he seems to have had an inclination : but a prudential regard to the times , and

the envy and ruin under which that family then lay, induced him probably to drop it". What gave his enemies the greater handle to rally him was, his marrying a handsome young woman, named Publilia, of an age disproportionate to his own, to whom he was Guardian: but she was well allied, and rich; circumstances very convenient to him at this time; as he intimates in a Letter to a friend, who congratulated with him on his marriage.

"As to your giving me joy," says he, "for what
" I have done, I know you wish it: but I should
" not have taken any new step in such wretched
" times, if at my return I had not found my
" private affairs in no better condition than those
" of the Republic. For when through the wickedness of those, who, for my infinite kindness
" to them, ought to have had the greatest concern
" for my welfare, I found no safety or ease from
" their intrigues and perfidy within my own walls,
" I thought it necessary to secure myself by the
" fidelity of new alliances against the treachery of
" the old".

Cæsar returned victorious from Africa about the end of July, by the way of Sardinia, where he spent some days: upon which Cicero says pleasantly in a Letter to Varro, he had never seen that farm of his before, which, though one of the worst that he has, he does not yet despise³⁹. The uncertain event of the African War had kept the Senate under some reserve; but they now began to push their flattery beyond all the bounds of

decency, and decreed more extravagant honors to Cæsar, than were ever given before to man; which Cicero oft rallies with great spirit; and being determined to bear no part in that servile adulation, was treating about the purchase of a House at Naples, for a pretence of retiring still farther and oftener from Rome. But his friends, who knew his impatience under their present subjection, and the free way of speaking, which he was apt to indulge, were in some pain, lest he should forfeit the good graces of Cæsar and his favorites, and provoke them too far by the keenness of his raillery *. They pressed him to accommodate himself to the times; and to use more caution in his discourse; and to reside more at Rome, especially when Cæsar was there, who would interpret the distance and retreat which he affected as a proof of his aversion to him.

But his answers on this occasion will show the real state of his sentiments and conduct towards Cæsar, as well as of Cæsar's towards him: writing on this subject to Papirius Pætus, he says; " You are of opinion, I perceive, that it will
" not be allowed to me, as I thought it might
" be, to quit these affairs of the City: you tell
" me of Catulus, and those times; but what
" similitude have they to these? I myself was
" unwilling at that time to stir from the guard
" of the state; for I then sat at the helm, and
" held the rudder; but am now scarce thought
" worthy to work at the pump: would the Se-
" nate think you pass fewer decrees, if I should
live

“ live at Naples? while I am still at Rome, and
“ attend the Forum, their decrees are all drawn
“ at our friend’s house, and whenever it comes
“ into his head, my name is set down, as if pre-
“ sent at drawing them; so that I hear from Ar-
“ menia and Syria of decrees, said to be made at
“ my motion, of which I never heard a syl-
“ lable at home. Do not take me to be in jest;
“ for I assure you, that I have received Letters
“ from kings, from the remotest parts of the
“ earth, to thank me for giving them the title
“ of King; when so far from knowing, that
“ any such title had been decreed to them, I
“ knew not even, that there were any such men
“ in being. What is then to be done? why as
“ long as our master of manners continues here,
“ I will follow your advice; but as soon as he is
“ gone, will run away to your mushrooms,
“ &c. “

In another Letter, “ Since you express, says
“ he, such a concern for me in your last, be as-
“ sured, my dear Pætus, that whatever can be
“ done by art, (for it is not enough to act with
“ prudence, some artifice also must now be em-
“ ployed) yet whatever, I say, can be done by
“ art, towards acquiring their good graces; I
“ have already done it with the greatest care;
“ nor, as I believe, without success; for I am
“ so much courted by all, who are in any de-
“ gree of favor with Cæsar, that I begin to fan-
“ cy that they love me: and though real love is
“ not easily distinguished from false, except in

“ the case of danger, by which the sincerity of
“ it may be tried, as of gold by fire; for all
“ other marks are common to both; yet I have
“ one argument to persuade me that they really
“ love me; because both my condition and theirs
“ is such, as puts them under no temptation
“ to dissemble: and as for him, who has all
“ power, I see no reason to fear any thing; un-
“ less that all things become of course uncertain,
“ when justice and right are once deserted: nor
“ can we be sure of any thing, that depends
“ on the will, not to say the passion of another.
“ Yet I have not in any instance particularly of-
“ fended him, but behaved myself all along with
“ the greatest moderation: for as once I took it
“ to be me duty, to speak my mind freely in
“ that City, which owed its freedom to me; so
“ now, since that is lost, to speak nothing that
“ may offend him, or his principal friends: but
“ if I would avoid all offence, of things said fa-
“ cetiously or by way of raillery, I must give
“ up all reputation of wit; which I would not
“ refuse to do, if I could. But as to Cæsar
“ himself, he has a very piercing judgment;
“ and as your brother Servius, whom I take to
“ have been an excellent Critic, would readily
“ say, this verse is not Plautus’s, that verse is;
“ having formed his ears by great use, to dis-
“ tinguish the peculiar style and manner of dif-
“ ferent Poets; so Cæsar, I hear, who has al-
“ ready collected some volumes of Apophthegms,
“ if any thing be brought to him for mine,

“ which is not so, presently rejects it: which he
“ now does the more easily, because his friends
“ live almost continually with me; and in the
“ variety of discourse, when any thing drops
“ from me, which they take to have some hu-
“ mor or spirit in it, they carry it always to him,
“ with the other news of the Town, for such
“ are his orders: so that if he hears any thing
“ besides of mine from other persons, he does not
“ regard it. I have no occasion therefore for your
“ example of Ænomaus, though aptly applied
“ from Accius: for what is the envy, which
“ you speak of? or what is there in me to be
“ envied now? But suppose there was every
“ thing: it has been the constant opinion of Phi-
“ losophers, the only men in my judgment,
“ who have a right notion of virtue, that a wise
“ man has nothing more to answer for, than to
“ keep himself free from guilt; of which I take my-
“ self to be clear, on a double account; be-
“ cause I both pursued those measures, which
“ were the justest: and when I saw, that I had
“ not strength enough to carry them, did not
“ think it my business to contend by force with
“ those who were too strong for me. It is
“ certain therefore, that I cannot be blamed, in
“ what concerns the part of a good Citizen: all
“ that is now left, is not to say or do any thing
“ foolishly and rashly against the men in power,
“ which I take also to be the part of a wise man.
“ As for the rest, what people may report to be
“ said by me, or how he may take it, or with

“ what sincerity those live with me, who now so
“ assiduously court me, it is not in my power to
“ answer. I comfort myself therefore with the
“ consciousness of my former conduct, and the
“ moderation of my present; and shall apply
“ your similitude from Accius, not only to the
“ case of envy, but of fortune; which I consider
“ as light and weak, and what ought to be re-
“ pelled by a firm and great mind; as waves by
“ a rock. For since the Greek History is full
“ of examples, how the wisest men have en-
“ dured Tyrannies at Athens or Syracuse; and
“ when their Cities were enslaved, have lived
“ themselves in some measure free; why may
“ not I think it possible to maintain my rank so,
“ as neither to offend the mind of any, nor hurt
“ my own dignity? — &c. ”

Pætus having heard, that Cæsar was going to divide some lands in his neighbourhood to the soldiers, began to be afraid for his own estate, and writes to Cicero, to know how far that distribution would extend: to which Cicero answers;
“ Are not you a pleasant fellow, who when
“ Balbus has just been with you, ask me what
“ will become of those towns and their lands?
“ as if either I knew any thing, that Balbus
“ does not; or if at any time I chance to know
“ any thing, I do not know it from him: nay,
“ it is your part rather, if you love me, to let
“ me know what will become of me: for you
“ had it in your power to have learnt it from
“ him, either sober, or at least when drunk.

“ But as for me, my dear Pætus, I have done
“ inquiring about those things: first, because
“ we have already lived near four years, by
“ clear gain, as it were; if that can be called
“ gain, or this life, to outlive the Republic:
“ secondly, because I myself seem to know what
“ will happen; for it will be, whatever pleases
“ the strongest; which must always be decided
“ by arms: it is our part, therefore, to be con-
“ tent with what is allowed to us: he who cannot
“ submit to this, ought to have chosen death.
“ They are now measuring the fields of Veiaë
“ and Capenæ: this is not far from Tusculum:
“ yet I fear nothing: I enjoy it whilst I may;
“ wish that I always may; but if it should hap-
“ pen otherwise, yet since, with all my courage
“ and philosophy, I have thought it best to live,
“ I cannot but have an affection for him, by
“ whose benefit I hold that life: who, if he
“ has an inclination to restore the Republic, as
“ he himself perhaps may desire, and we all
“ ought to wish, yet he has linked himself so
“ with others, that he has not the power to do
“ what he would. But I proceed too far, for
“ I am writing to you: be assured, however, of
“ this, that not only I, who have no part in their
“ counsels, but even the Chief himself does not
“ know what will happen. We are slaves to
“ him, he to the times: so neither can he know,
“ what the times will require, nor we, what he
“ may intend, &c. ”

The Chiefs of the Cæsarian party, who

courted Cicero so much at this time, were Balbus, Oppius, Matius, Panfa, Hirtius, Dolabella: they were all in the first confidence with Cæsar, yet professed the utmost affection for Cicero; were every morning at his levee, and perpetually engaging him to sup with them; and the two last employed themselves in a daily exercise of declaiming at his house, for the benefit of his instruction; of which he gives the following account in his familiar way to Pætus: “Hirtius and Dolabella are my scholars in speaking; my masters in eating: for you have heard, I guess, how they declaim with me, I sup with them.” In another letter he tells him, “that as King Dionysius, when driven out of Syracuse, turned school-master at Corinth, so he, having lost his kingdom of the Forum, had now opened a School—to which he merrily invites Pætus, with the offer of a seat and cushion next to himself, as his Usher.” But to Varro more seriously, “I acquainted you,” says he, “before, that I am intimate with them all, and assist at their counsels: I see no reason why I should not—for it is not the same thing, to bear what must be born, and to approve what ought not to be approved.” And again; “I do not forbear to sup with those who now rule: what can I do? we must comply with the times.”

The only use which he made of all this favor was, to screen himself from any particular calamity in the general misery of the times; and

to serve those unhappy men, who were driven from their country and their families, for their adherence to that cause, which he himself had espoused. Cæsar was desirous indeed to engage him in his measures, and attach him insensibly to his interests: but he would bear no part in an administration, established on the ruins of his country; nor ever cared to be acquainted with their affairs, or to inquire what they were doing: so that whenever he entered into their counsels, as he signifies above to Varro, it was only when the case of some exiled friend required it: for whose service he scrupled no pains of soliciting, and attending even Cæsar himself: though he was sometimes shocked, as he complains, by the difficulty of access, and the indignity of waiting in an Antichamber; not indeed through Cæsar's fault, who was always ready to give him audience; but from the multiplicity of his affairs, by whose hands all the favors of the Empire were dispensed". Thus in a Letter to Ampius, whose pardon he had procured,—“ I have solicited your cause,” says he, “ more eagerly than my present situation would well justify: for my desire to see you, and my constant love for you, most assiduously cultivated on your part, over-ruled all regard to the present weak condition of my power and interest. Every thing that relates to your return and safety is promised, confirmed, fixed and ratified: I saw, knew, was present at every step: for by good luck, I have all Cæsar's friends

“ engaged to me by an old acquaintance and
“ friendship: so that next to him they pay the
“ first regard to me: Panfa, Hirtius, Balbus,
“ Oppius, Matius, Posthumus take all occasions
“ to give me proof of their singular affection.
“ If this had been sought and procured by me,
“ I should have no reason, as things now stand,
“ to repent of my pains: but I have done no-
“ thing with the view of serving the times; I
“ had an intimacy of long standing with them
“ all, and never gave over soliciting them on
“ your behalf: I found Panfa, however, the
“ readiest of them all to serve you, and oblige
“ me; who has not only an interest, but au-
“ thority with Cæsar, &c. ”.

But while he was thus carested by Cæsar's friends, he was not less followed, we may imagine, by the friends of the Republic: these had always looked upon him as the chief patron of their liberty; whose counsels, if they had been followed, would have preserved it; and whose authority gave them the only hopes that were left, of recovering it: so that his house was as much frequented, and his levee as much crowded, as ever; since the people now flocked, he says, to see a good Citizen as a sort of rarity ”. In another letter, giving a short account of his way of life, he says, “ Early in the morning, I
“ receive the compliments of many honest men,
“ but melancholy ones; as well as of these gay
“ Conquerors; who show indeed a very offici-
“ ous and affectionate regard to me. When

“ these visits are over, I shut myself up in my
“ Library, either to write or read: Here some
“ also come to hear me, as a man of learning;
“ because I am somewhat more learned than
“ they: the rest of my time I give to the care
“ of my body: for I have now bewailed my
“ country longer, and more heavily, than any
“ mother ever bewailed her only son.”

It is certain, that there was not a man in the Republic so particularly engaged, both by principle and interest, to wish well to it's liberty, or who had so much to lose by the subversion of it as he: for as long as it was governed by civil methods, and stood upon the foundation of it's laws, he was undoubtedly the first Citizen in it; had the chief influence in the Senate; the chief authority with the people: and as all his hopes and fortunes were grounded on the peace of his country, so all his labors and studies were perpetually applied to the promotion of it: it is no wonder therefore, in the present situation of the City, oppressed by arms, and a tyrannical power, to find him so particularly impatient under the common misery, and expressing so keen a sense of the diminution of his dignity, and the disgrace of serving, where he had been used to govern.

Cæsar, on the other hand, though he knew his temper and principles to be irreconcilable to his usurped dominion, yet out of friendship to the man, and a reverence for his character, was determined to treat him with the greatest

humanity : and by all the marks of personal favor to make his life not only tolerable, but easy to him : yet all that he could do, had no other effect on Cicero, than to make him think and speak sometimes favorably of the natural clemency of their master ; and to entertain some hopes from it, that he would one day be persuaded to restore the public liberty : but exclusive of that hope, he never mentions his government, but as a real Tyranny ; or his person in any other style, than as the oppressor of his Country.

But he gave a remarkable proof at this time of his being no temporizer, by writing a book in praise of Cato ; which he published within a few months after Cato's death. He seems to have been left a Guardian to Cato's Son ; as he was also to young Lucullus, Cato's Nephew^o : and this testimony of Cato's friendship and judgment of him, might induce him the more readily to pay this honor to his memory. It was a matter, however, of no small deliberation, in what manner he ought to treat the subject : his friends advised him not to be too explicit and particular in the detail of Cato's praises ; but to content himself with a general encomium, for fear of irritating Cæsar, by pushing the Argument too far. In a Letter to Atticus, he calls this, " an Archimedean problem ; but I cannot hit upon " any thing," says he, " that those friends of yours " will read with pleasure, or even with patience ; besides, if I should drop the account

“ of Cato’s Votes and Speeches in the Senate,
“ and of his political conduct in the State, and
“ give a slight commendation only of his con-
“ stancy and gravity, even this may be more,
“ than they will care to hear: but the man can-
“ not be praised, as he deserves, unless it be
“ particularly explained, how he foretold all that
“ has happened to us; how he took arms to
“ prevent its happening; and parted with life
“ rather than see it happen⁵¹.” These were the
topics, which he resolved to display with all his
force; and from the accounts given of the work
by antiquity, it appears, that he had spared no
pains to adorn it, but extolled Cato’s virtue and
character to the skies⁵².

The book was soon spread into all hands;
and Cæsar, instead of expressing any resentment,
affected to be much pleased with it; yet declar-
ed, that he would answer it: and Hirtius in the
mean while, drew up a little piece in the form
of a Letter to Cicero, filled with objections to
Cato’s character, but with high compliments to
Cicero himself; which Cicero took care to make
public, and calls it a specimen of what Cæsar’s
work was like to be⁵³. Brutus also composed
and published a piece on the same subject; as
well as another friend of Cicero, Fabius Gallus⁵⁴:
but these were but little considered in comparison
of Cicero’s: and Brutus had made some mistakes
in his account of the transactions, in which Cato
had been concerned; especially in the debates on
Catiline’s plot; in which he had given him the

first part and merit, in derogation even of Cicero himself⁵⁵.

Cæsar's answer was not published till the next year, upon his return from Spain; after the defeat of Pompey's Sons. It was a labored invective, answering Cicero's book paragraph by paragraph, and accusing Cato with all the art and force of his Rhetoric, as if in a public trial before Judges⁵⁶; yet with expressions of great respect towards Cicero; whom, for his virtues and abilities, he compared to Pericles and Theramenes of Athens⁵⁷: and in a Letter upon it to Balbus, which was shown by his order to Cicero, he said, that by the frequent reading of Cicero's Cato, he was grown more copious; but after he had read Brutus's, thought himself even eloquent⁵⁸.

These two rival pieces were much celebrated in Rome; and had their several admirers, as different parties and interest disposed men, to favor the subject or the author of each: and it is certain, that they were the principal cause of establishing and propagating that veneration, which posterity has since paid to the memory of Cato. For his name being thrown into controversy in that critical period of the fate of Rome, by the Patron of liberty on the one side, and the oppressor of it on the other, became of course a kind of Political test to all succeeding ages; and a perpetual argument of dispute between the friends of liberty and the flatterers of power. But if we consider his character without prejudice, he was certainly a great and worthy

man ; a friend to truth , virtue , liberty : yet falsely measuring all duty by the absurd rigor of the Stoical rule , he was generally disappointed of the end , which he sought by it , the happiness both of his private and public life. In his private conduct , he was severe , morose , inexorable ; banishing all the softer affections , as natural enemies to justice , and as suggesting false motives of acting , from favor , clemency , and compassion : in public affairs he was the same ; had but one rule of policy ; to adhere to what was right ; without regard to times or circumstances , or even to a force that could control him : for instead of managing the power of the Great , so as to mitigate the ill , or extract any good from it , he was urging it always to acts of violence by a perpetual defiance ; so that , with the best intentions in the world , he often did great harm to the Republic. This was his general behaviour ; yet from some particular facts explained above , it appears , that his strength of mind was not always impregnable , but had its weak places of pride , ambition and party - zeal ; which , when managed and flattered to a certain point , would betray him sometimes into measures contrary to his ordinary rule of right and truth. The last act of his life was agreeable to his nature and philosophy : when he could no longer be , what he had been ; or when the ills of life overbalanced the good ; which , by the principles of his sect , was a just cause for dying " ; he put an end to his life , with a spirit and resolution , which would

make one imagine, that he was glad to have found an occasion of dying in his proper character. On the whole, his life was rather admirable, than amiable; fit to be praised, rather than imitated⁶⁰.

As soon as Cicero had published his Cato, he wrote his piece called the Orator, at the request of Brutus; containing the plan or delineation of what he himself esteemed the most perfect eloquence or manner of speaking. He calls it the fifth part or book, designed to complete the argument of his Brutus, and the other three, on the same subject. It was received with great approbation; and in a Letter to Lepta, who had complimented him upon it, he declares, that whatever judgment he had in speaking, he had thrown it all into that work, and was content to risk his reputation on the merit of it⁶¹.

He now likewise spoke that famous speech of thanks to Cæsar, for the pardon of M. Marcellus: which was granted upon the intercession of the Senate. Cicero had a particular friendship with all the family of the Marcelli; but especially with this Marcus; who from the defeat of Pompey at Pharsalia, retired to Mitylene in Lesbos, where he lived with so much ease and satisfaction to himself in a philosophical retreat, that Cicero, as it appears from his Letters, was forced to use all his art and authority to persuade him to return, and take the benefit of that grace, which, they had been laboring to obtain for him⁶². But how the affair was transacted, we may learn

from Cicero's account of it to Serv. Sulpicius, who was then Proconsul of Greece — “Your
“condition,” says he, “is better than ours in this
“particular, that you dare venture to write your
“grievances; we cannot even do that with safe-
“ty: not through any fault of the Conqueror,
“than whom nothing can be more moderate,
“but of victory itself, which in civil wars is
“always insolent: we have had the advantage of
“you, however, in one thing; in being acquaint-
“ed a little sooner than you, with the pardon
“of your colleague Marcellus; or rather indeed
“in seeing how the whole affair passed; for I
“would have you believe, that from the begin-
“ning of these miseries, or ever since the public
“right has been decided by arms, there has
“nothing been done besides this with any dig-
“nity. For Cæsar himself, after having com-
“plained of the moroseness of Marcellus, for
“so he called it, and praised in the strongest
“terms the equity and prudence of your con-
“duct, presently declared beyond all our hopes,
“that whatever offence he had received from
“the man, he could refuse nothing to the inter-
“cession of the Senate. What the Senate did
“was this: upon the mention of Marcellus by
“Piso, his Brother Caius having thrown him-
“self at Cæsar's feet, they all rose up, and went
“forward in a supplicating manner towards Cæ-
“sar: in short, this day's work appeared to me
“so decent, that I could not help fancying that
“I saw the image of the old republic reviving:

“ when all therefore, who where asked their opi-
“ nions before me , had returned thanks to
“ Cæsar , excepting Volcatius , (for he declared,
“ that he would not have done it , though he
“ had been in Marcellus’s place ,) I , as soon as
“ I was called upon , changed my mind ; for I
“ had resolved with myself to observe an eternal
“ silence , not through any laziness , but the loss
“ of my former dignity ; but Cæsar’s greatness
“ of mind , and the laudable zeal of the Senate ,
“ got the better of my resolution. I gave thanks
“ therefore to Cæsar in a long speech , and have
“ deprived myself by it , I fear , on other occa-
“ sions , of that honest quiet , which was my
“ only comfort in these unhappy times : but
“ since I have hitherto avoided giving him of-
“ fence , and if I had always continued silent ,
“ he would have interpreted it perhaps , as a
“ proof of my taking the Republic to be ruined ,
“ I shall speak for the future not often , or rather
“ very seldom ; so as to manage at the same
“ time both his favor , and my own leisure for
“ study ” .

Cæsar, though he saw the Senate unanimous in their petition for Marcellus, yet took the pains to call for the particular opinion of every Senator upon it: a method never practised, except in cases of debate, and where the house was divided: but he wanted the usual tribute of flattery upon this act of grace; and had a mind probably to make an experiment of Cicero’s temper , and to draw

draw from him especially some incense on the occasion; nor was he disappointed of his aim; for Cicero, touched by his generosity, and greatly pleased with the act itself, on the account of his friend, returned thanks to him in a speech, which, though made upon the spot, yet for elegance of diction, vivacity of sentiment, and politeness of compliment, is superior to any thing extant of the kind in all antiquity. The many fine things, which are said in it of Cæsar, have given some handle indeed for a charge of insincerity against Cicero: but it must be remembered, that he was delivering a speech of thanks, not only for himself, but in the name and at the desire of the Senate, where his subject naturally required the embellishments of Oratory; and that all his compliments are grounded on a supposition, that Cæsar intended to restore the Republic: of which he entertained no small hopes at this time, as he signifies in a letter to one of Cæsar's principal friends⁶⁴. This therefore he recommends, enforces, and requires from him in his speech, with the spirit of an old Roman; and no reasonable man will think it strange, that so free an address to a Conqueror, in the height of all his power, should want to be tempered with some few strokes of flattery. But the following passage from the oration itself will justify the truth of what I am saying.

“ If this,” says he, “ Cæsar was to be the end
“ of your immortal acts, that after conquering all
“ your enemies, you should leave the Republic in
“ the condition in which it now is; consider, I

“ beseech you, whether your divine virtue would
“ not excite rather an admiration of you, than any
“ real glory: for glory is the illustrious fame of
“ many and great services either to our friends,
“ our country, or to the whole race of mankind.
“ This part therefore still remains; there is one
“ act more to be performed by you to establish
“ the Republic again, that you may reap the
“ benefit of it yourself in peace and prosperity.
“ When you have paid this debt to your country,
“ and fulfilled the ends of your nature by a satiety
“ of living, you may then tell us, if you please,
“ that you have lived long enough: yet what is
“ it after all, that we can really call long, of
“ which there is an end? for when that end is
“ once come, all past pleasure is to be reckoned
“ as nothing, since no more of it is to be expected.
“ Though your mind, I know, was never content
“ with these narrow bounds of life, which nature
“ has assigned to us, but inflamed always with an
“ ardent love of immortality: nor is this indeed
“ to be considered as your life, which is comprised
“ in this body and breath; but that, that, I say,
“ is your life, which is to flourish in the memory
“ of all ages: which posterity will cherish, and
“ eternity itself propagate. It is to this that you
“ must attend; to this that you must form yourself:
“ which has many things already to admire, yet
“ wants something still, that it may praise in you.
“ Posterity will be amazed to hear and read of
“ your commands, provinces; the Rhine, the
“ Ocean, the Nile; your innumerable battles,

“ incredible victories, infinite monuments, splendid
“ triumphs: but unless this City be established
“ again by your wisdom and counsels, your name
“ indeed will wander far and wide, yet will have
“ no certain seat or place at last, where to fix
“ itself. There will be also amongst those, who
“ are yet unborn, the same controversy, that has
“ been amongst us; when some will extol your
“ actions to the skies; others perhaps will find
“ something defective in them; and that one thing
“ above all, if you should not extinguish this
“ flame of civil war, by restoring liberty to your
“ country: for the one may be looked upon, as
“ the effect of fate, but the other is the certain
“ act of wisdom. Pay a reverence therefore to
“ those judges, who will pass judgment upon you
“ in ages to come; and with less partiality perhaps
“ than we; since they will neither be biassed by
“ affection or party, nor prejudiced by hatred or
“ envy to you: and though this, as some falsely
“ imagine, should then have no relation to you,
“ yet it concerns you certainly at the present, to
“ act in such a manner, that no oblivion may ever
“ obscure the lustre of your praises. Various were
“ the inclinations of the Citizens, and their
“ opinions wholly divided: nor did we differ only
“ in sentiments and wishes, but in arms also and
“ camps: the merits of the cause were dubious; and
“ the contention between two celebrated Leaders:
“ many doubted what was the best; many what
“ was convenient; many what was decent; some
“ also what was lawful, &c. ”

But though Cæsar took no step towards restoring the Republic, he employed himself this summer in another work of general benefit to mankind; the reformation of the Kalendar; by accommodating the course of the year, to the exact course of the Sun; from which it had varied so widely, as to occasion a strange confusion in all their accounts of time.

The Roman year, from the whole institution of Numa, was lunar; borrowed from the Greeks; amongst whom it consisted of three hundred and fifty four days: Numa added one more to them to make the whole number odd, which was thought the more fortunate; and to fill up the deficiency of his year to the measure of the solar course, inserted likewise or intercalated, after the manner of the Greeks, an extraordinary month of twenty-two days, every second year, and twenty three every fourth, between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth day of February⁶⁶: he committed the care of intercalating this month and the supernumerary day, to the College of Priests; who in process of time, partly by a negligent, partly a superstitious, but chiefly by an arbitrary abuse of their trust, used either to drop or insert them, as it was found most convenient to themselves or their friends, to make the current year longer or shorter⁶⁷. Thus Cicero, when harassed by a perpetual course of pleading, prayed, that there might be no intercalation to lengthen his fatigue; and when Proconsul of Cilicia, pressed Atticus to exert all his interest, to prevent any intercalation within the year; that

it might not protract his government, and retard his return to Rome⁶⁸. Curio, on the contrary, when he could not persuade the Priests to prolong the year of his Tribunate by an Intercalation, made that a pretence for abandoning the Senate, and going over to Cæsar⁶⁹.

This licence of intercalating introduced the confusion above-mentioned, in the computation of their time: so that the order of all their months was transposed from their stated seasons; the winter-months carried back into Autumn, the Autumnal into Summer: till Cæsar resolved to put an end to this disorder by abolishing the source of it, the use of intercalations; and instead of the Lunar to establish the Solar year, adjusted to the exact measure of the Sun's revolution in the Zodiac, or to that period of time, in which it returns to the point, from which it set out: and as this, according to the Astronomers of that age, was supposed to be three hundred and sixty-five days, and six hours, so he divided the days into twelve artificial months, and to supply the deficiency of the six hours, by which they fell short of the Sun's complete course, he ordered a day to be intercalated after every four years, between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of February⁷⁰.

But to make this new year begin, and proceed regularly, he was forced to insert into the current year, two extraordinary months, between November and December; the one of thirty-three, the other of thirty-four days; besides the ordinary intercalary month of twenty-three days, which fell

into it of course; which were all necessary to fill up the number of days, that were lost to the old year, by the omission of intercalations, and to replace the months in their proper seasons⁷¹: All this was effected by the care and skill of Sosigenes, a celebrated Astronomer of Alexandria, whom Cæsar had brought to Rome for that purpose⁷²: and a new Kalendar was formed upon it by Flavius a Scribe, digested according to the order of the Roman Festivals, and the old manner of computing their days by Kalends, Ides, and Nones; which was published and authorized by the Dictator's Edict, not long after his return from Africa. This year therefore was the longest, that Rome had ever known; consisting of fifteen months, or four hundred and forty five days, and is called the last of the confusion⁷³; because it introduced the Julian, or solar year, with the commencement of the ensuing January; which continues in use to this day in all Christian Countries, without any other variation, than that of the old and new style — ⁷⁴.

Soon after the affair of Marcellus, Cicero had another occasion of trying both his eloquence and interest with Cæsar; in the cause of Ligarius; who was now in exile on the account of his having been in arms against Cæsar, in the African war, in which he had borne a considerable command. His two Brothers, however, had always been on Cæsar's side; and being recommended by Pansa, and warmly supported by Cicero, had almost prevailed for his pardon; of which Cicero gives

the following account in a Letter to Ligarius himself.

Cicero to Ligarius.

“ I would have you to be assured, that I employ
“ my whole pains, labor, care, study, in procuring
“ your restoration: for as I have ever had the
“ greatest affection for you, so the singular piety
“ and love of your Brothers, for whom, as well
“ as yourself, I have always professed the utmost
“ esteem, never suffer me to neglect any oppor-
“ tunity of my duty and service to you. But what
“ I am now doing, or have done, I would have
“ you learn from their Letters, rather than mine;
“ but as to what I hope, and take to be certain
“ in your affair, that I chuse to acquaint you with
“ myself; for if any man be timorous in great
“ and dangerous events, and fearing always the
“ worst, rather than hoping the best, I am he;
“ and if this be a fault, confess myself not to be
“ free from it; yet on the twenty-seventh of Novem-
“ ber, when, at the desire of your Brothers, I
“ had been early with Cæsar, and gone through
“ the trouble and indignity of getting access and
“ audience; when your Brothers and relations
“ had thrown themselves at his feet, and I had said,
“ what your cause and circumstances required, I
“ came away persuaded, that your pardon was
“ certain: which I collected, not only from Cæsar’s
“ discourse, which was mild and generous, but
“ from his eyes and looks, and many other signs,

“ which I could better observe than describe. It
“ is your part therefore, to behave yourself with
“ firmness and courage; and as you have born
“ the more turbulent part prudently, to bear this
“ calmer state of things chearfully: I shall continue
“ still to take the same pains in your affairs, as if
“ there was the greatest difficulty in them, and
“ will heartily supplicate in your behalf, as I have
“ hitherto done, not only Cæsar himself, but all
“ his friends, whom I have ever found most
“ affectionate to me. Adieu.”

While Ligarius's affair was in this hopeful way, Q. Tubero, who had an old quarrel with him, being desirous to obstruct his pardon, and knowing Cæsar to be particularly exasperated against all those, who, through an obstinate aversion to him, had renewed the war in Africa, accused him, in the usual forms, of an uncommon zeal and violence in prosecuting that war. Cæsar privately encouraged the prosecution, and ordered the cause to be tried in the Forum, where he sat upon it in person, strongly prepossessed against the Criminal, and determined to lay hold on any plausible pretence for condemning him; but the force of Cicero's eloquence, exerted with all his skill in a cause, which he had much at heart, got the better of all his prejudices, and extorted a pardon from him against his will.

The merit of this speech is too well known, to want to be enlarged upon here: those, who read it, will find no reason to charge Cicero with flattery: but the free spirit, which it breathes, in

the face of that power, to which it was suing for mercy, must give a great idea of the art of the speaker, who could deliver such bold truths without offence; as well as of the generosity of the Judge, who heard them not only with patience, but approbation.

“ Observe, Cæsar,” says he, “ with what fidelity I plead Ligarius’s cause, when I betray even my own by it. O that admirable clemency, worthy to be celebrated by every kind of praise, letters, monuments! M. Cicero defends a criminal before you, by proving him not to have been in those sentiments, in which he owns himself to have been; nor does he yet fear your secret thoughts, or while he is pleading for another, what may occur to you about himself. See, I say, how little he is afraid of you. See with what a courage and gaiety of speaking your generosity and wisdom inspire me. I will raise my voice to such a pitch, that the whole Roman people may hear me. After the war was not only begun, Cæsar, but in great measure finished, when I was driven by no necessity, I went by choice and judgment to join myself with those, who had taken arms against you. Before whom do I say this? why before him, who, though he knew it to be true, yet restored me to the Republic, before he had even seen me; who wrote to me from Egypt, that I should be the same man, that I had always been; and when he was the only Emperor within the dominion

“ of Rome, suffered me to be the other; and to
“ hold my laurelled Fasces, as long as I thought
“ them worth holding — —”. Do you then,
“ Tubero, call Ligarius’s conduct wicked?
“ for what reason? since that cause has never
“ yet been called by that name: some indeed
“ call it mistake, others fear; those who speak
“ more severely, hope, ambition, hatred, obsti-
“ nacy; or at the worst, rashness; but no man,
“ besides you, has ever called it wickedness.
“ For my part, were I to invent a proper and ge-
“ nuine name for our calamity, I should take it
“ for a kind of fatality, that had possessed the
“ unwary minds of men; so that none can think
“ it strange, that all human counsels were over-
“ ruled by a divine necessity. Call us then, if
“ you please, unhappy; though we can never
“ be so, under this Conqueror, but I speak not
“ of us who survive, but of those who fell;
“ let them be ambitious; let them be angry;
“ let them be obstinate; but let not the guilt of
“ crime, of fury, of parricide, ever be charged
“ on Cn. Pompey, and on many of those who
“ died with him. When did we ever hear any
“ such thing from you, Cæsar? or what other
“ view had you in the war, than to defend
“ yourself from injury? — you considered it from
“ the first, not as a war, but a secession; not as
“ a hostile, but civil dissension: where both
“ sides wished well to the Republic; yet through
“ a difference, partly of counsels, partly of in-
“ clinations, deviated from the common good:

“ the dignity of the Leaders was almost equal;
“ though not perhaps of those who followed
“ them : the cause was then dubious, since there
“ was something which one might approve on
“ either side; but now, that must needs be
“ thought the best, which the Gods have fa-
“ vored; and after the experience of your cle-
“ mency, who can be displeased with that victory,
“ in which no man fell, who was not actually in
“ arms ” ? ”

The Speech was soon made public, and greedily bought by all: Atticus was extremely pleased with it, and very industrious in recommending it; so that Cicero says merrily to him by Letter, “ You have sold my Ligarian speech finely; whatever I write for the future, I will make you the Publisher : ” and again, “ your authority, I perceive, has made my little oration famous: for Balbus and Oppius write me word, that they are wonderfully taken with it, and have sent a copy to Cæsar ”. The success, which it met with, made Tubero ashamed of the figure that he made in it; so that he applied to Cicero, to have something inserted in his favor, with the mention of his wife, and some of his family, who were Cicero’s near relations: but Cicero excused himself, because the speech was got abroad, nor had he a mind, he says, to make any apology for Tubero’s conduct ”.

Ligarius was a man of distinguished zeal for the liberty of his Country: which was the reason both of Cicero’s pains to preserve, and of Cæsar’s

averfeness to reftore him. After his return he lived in great confidence with Brutus, who found him a fit perfon to bear a part in the confpiracy againft Cæfar; but happening to be taken ill near the time of it's execution, when Brutus, in a vifit to him, began to lament, that he was fallen fick in a very unlucky hour; Ligarius, raifing himfelf prefently upon his elbow, and taking Brutus by the hand, replied; Yet ftill, Brutus, if you mean to do any thing worthy of yourfelf, I am well ⁸⁰: nor did he difappoint Brutus's opinion of him; for we find him afterwards in the lift of the confpirators.

In the end of the year, Cæfar was called away in great hafte into Spain to oppofe the attempts of Pompey's Sons, who, by the credit of their father's name, were become mafters again of all that Province; and with the remains of the troops, which Labienus, Varus, and the other Chiefs, who efaped, had gathered up from Africa were once more in condition to try the fortune of the field with him: where the great danger, to which he was expofed from this laft effort of a broken party, fhows how desperate his cafe muft have been, if Pompey himfelf, with an entire and veteran army, had firft made choice of this country for the fcene of the war.

A. Urb. 708. Cicero all this while paffed his time with little fatisfaction at home, being difappointed of the eafe and comfort, which he expected from his new marriage: his children, as we may imagine, while their own mother was living, would

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not easily bear with a young mother-in-law in the house with them. The Son especially was pressing to get a particular appointment settled for his maintenance, and to have leave also to go to Spain, and make a Campaign under Cæsar; whether his Cousin Quintus was already gone: Cicero did not approve this project; and endeavoured by all means to dissuade him from it: representing to him, that it would naturally draw a just reproach upon them, for not thinking it enough to quit their former party, unless they fought against it too; and that he would not be pleased to see his Cousin more regarded there than himself; and promising withal, if he would consent to stay, to make him an ample and honorable allowance¹. This diverted him from the thoughts of Spain; though not from the desire of removing from his Father, and taking a separate house in the City, with a distinct family of his own: but Cicero thought it best to send him to Athens, in order, to spend a few years in the study of Philosophy, and polite Letters; and to make the proposal agreeable, offered him an appointment, that would enable him to live as splendidly as any of the Roman Nobility, who then resided there, Bibulus, Acidinus, or Messala². This scheme was accepted, and soon after executed: and young Cicero was sent to Athens, with two of his Father's Freedmen, L. Tullius Montanus, and Tullius Marcius, as the Intendants and Counsellors of his general conduct, while the particular direction of his studies was left to the principal Philosophers of

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LEPIDUS
Mag. Equit.

the place; and above all to Cratippus, the chief of the Peripatetic Sect ⁸³.

In this uneasy state both of his private and public life, he was oppressed by a new and most cruel affliction, the death of his beloved daughter Tullia; which happened soon after her divorce from Dolabella; whose manners and humor were entirely disagreeable to her. Cicero had long been deliberating with himself and his friends, whether Tullia should not first send the divorce; but a prudential regard to Dolabella's power, and interest with Cæsar, which was of use to him in these times, seems to have withheld him ⁸⁴. The case was the same with Dolabella, he was willing enough to part with Tullia, but did not care to break with Cicero, whose friendship was a credit to him; and whom gratitude obliged him to observe and reverence; since Cicero had twice defended and preserved him in capital causes ⁸⁵: so that it seems most probable, that the divorce was of an amicable kind; and executed at last by the consent of both sides: for it gave no apparent interruption to the friendship between Cicero and Dolabella, which they carried on with the same show of affection, and professions of respect toward each other, as if the relation had still subsisted.

Tullia died in childbed; at her husband's house ⁸⁶; which confirms the probability of their agreement in the divorce: it is certain at least, that she died in Rome; where Cicero was detained, he says, by the expectation of the birth,

and to receive the first payment of her fortune back again from Dolabella, who was then in Spain: she was delivered, as it was thought, very happily, and supposed to be out of danger; when an unexpected turn in her case put an end to her life, to the inexpressible grief of her Father ⁸⁷.

We have no account of the issue of this birth, which writers confound with that which happened three years before, when she was delivered at the end of seven months of a puny male Child: but whether it was from the first, or the second time of her lying in, it is evident, that she left a Son by Dolabella, who survived her, and whom Cicero mentions more than once in his Letters to Atticus, by the name of Lentulus ⁸⁸: desiring him to visit the Child, and see a due care taken of him, and to assign him what number of servants he thought proper ⁸⁹.

Tullia was about two-and-thirty years old at the time of her death; and by the few hints which are left of her character appears to have been an excellent and admirable woman: she was most affectionately and piously observant of her Father; and to the usual graces of her sex, having added the more solid accomplishments of knowledge and polite letters, was qualified to be the companion as well as the delight of his age; and was justly esteemed not only as one of the best, but the most learned of the Roman Ladies. It is not strange therefore, that the loss of such a daughter, in the prime of her life, and the most comfortable season of his own, should affect him with

all that grief, which the greatest calamity could imprint on a temper naturally timid and desponding.

Plutarch tells us, that the Philosophers came from all parts to comfort him; but that can hardly be true, except of those, who lived at Rome, or in his own family; for his first care was, to shun all company as much as he could, by removing to Atticus's house; where he lived chiefly in the Library; endeavouring to relieve his mind, by turning over every book, which he could meet with on the subject of moderating grief": but finding his residence here too public, and a greater resort to him than he could bear, he retired to Astura, one of his seats near Antium; a little island on the Latian shore at the mouth of a river of the same name, covered with woods and groves, cut out into shady walks; a scene of all others the fittest to indulge melancholy, and where he could give a free course to his grief. "Here," says he, "I live without the speech of man, every morning early I hide myself in the thickest of the wood, and never come out till the evening: next to yourself, nothing is so dear to me, as this solitude: my whole conversation is with my books; yet that is sometimes interrupted by my tears, which I resist as well as I can, but am not yet able to do much".

Atticus urged him to quit this retirement, and divert himself with business, and the company of his friends; and put him gently in mind, that, by afflicting himself so immoderately, he would hurt
his

his character, and give people a handle to censure his weakness: to which he makes the following answer.

“ As to what you write, that you are afraid,
“ lest the excess of my grief should lessen my credit
“ and authority; I do not know what men would
“ have of me. Is it, that I should not grieve? that
“ is impossible: or that I should not be oppressed
“ with grief? who was ever less so? when I took
“ refuge at your house, was any man ever denied
“ access to me? or did any one ever come, who
“ had reason to complain of me? I went from
“ you to Astura: where those gay sparks, who
“ find fault with me, are not able even to read
“ so much as I have written: how well, is nothing
“ to the purpose, yet it is of a kind which no
“ body could write with a disordered mind — I
“ spent a month in my gardens about Rome;
“ where I received all who came, with the same
“ easiness as before. At this very moment, while
“ I am employing my whole time in reading and
“ writing, those, who are with me, are more
“ fatigued with their leisure, than I with my pains.
“ If any one asks, why I am not at Rome?
“ because it is vacation-time: why not in some of
“ my villas, more suitable to the season? because
“ I could not easily bear so much company. I am,
“ where he, who has the best house at Baiæ,
“ chuses to be, in this part of the year. When
“ I come to Rome, no body shall find any thing
“ amiss, either in my looks, or discourse: as to
“ that cheerfulness, with which we used to season

“ the misery of these times , I have lost it indeed
“ for ever ; but will never part with my constancy
“ and firmness, either of mind or speech, &c. ”.

All his other friends were very officious likewise in making their compliments of condolence, and administering arguments of comfort to him : among the rest, Cæsar himself, in the hurry of his affairs in Spain , wrote him a Letter on the occasion, dated from Hispalis, the last of April³. Brutus wrote another, so friendly and affectionate, that it greatly moved him⁴ : Luceius also, one of the most esteemed writers of that age , sent him two ; the first to condole, the second to expostulate with him for persevering, to cherish an unmanly and useless grief⁵ : but the following Letter of Ser. Sulpicius is thought to be a masterpiece of the consolatory kind.

Ser. Sulpicius to M. T. Cicero.

“ I was exceedingly concerned , as indeed I
“ ought to be, to hear of the death of your
“ daughter Tullia ; which I looked upon as an
“ affliction common to us both. If I had been
“ with you , I would have made it my business
“ to convince you, what a real share I take in
“ your grief. Though that kind of consolation
“ is but wretched and lamentable, as it is
“ to be performed by friends and relations, who
“ are overwhelmed with grief, and cannot enter
“ upon their task without tears , and seem to
“ want comfort rather themselves , than to be

“ in condition to administer it to others. I re-
“ solved therefore to write to you in short, what
“ occurred upon it to my own mind: not that
“ I imagined, that the same things would not
“ occur also to you, but that the force of your
“ grief might possibly hinder your attention to
“ them. What reason is there then to disturb
“ yourself so immoderately on this melancholy
“ occasion? consider how fortune has already
“ treated us; how it has deprived us of what
“ ought to be as dear to us as children; our
“ country, credit, dignity, honors. After so
“ miserable a loss as this, what addition can it
“ possibly make to our grief, to suffer one mis-
“ fortune more? or how can a mind, after being
“ exercised in such trials, not grow callous, and
“ think every thing else of inferior value? but
“ is it for your daughter's sake that you grieve?
“ yet how often must you necessarily reflect, as
“ I myself frequently do, that those cannot be
“ said to be hardly dealt with, whose lot it has
“ been in these times, without suffering any
“ affliction to exchange life for death. For
“ what is there in our present circumstances that
“ could give her any great invitation to live?
“ what business? what hopes? what prospect
“ of comfort before her? was it to pass her
“ days in the married state, with some young
“ man of the first quality? (for you, I know,
“ on the account of your dignity, might have
“ chosen what son-in-law you pleased out of all
“ our youth, to whose fidelity you might safely

“ have trusted her); was it then for the sake of
“ bearing children, whom she might have had
“ the pleasure to see flourishing afterwards, in
“ the enjoyment of their paternal fortunes, and
“ rising gradually to all the honors of the state,
“ and using the liberty, to which they were
“ born, in the protection of their friends and
“ clients? But what is there of all this, which
“ was not taken away, before it was even given
“ to her? But it is an evil, you will say, to lose
“ our children. It is so; yet it is much greater
“ to suffer, what we now endure. I cannot
“ help mentioning one thing, which has given
“ me no small comfort, and may help also per-
“ haps to mitigate your grief. On my return
“ from Asia, as I was sailing from Ægina to-
“ wards Megara, I began to contemplate the
“ prospect of the countries around me: Ægina
“ was behind, Megara before me; Piræus on
“ the right; Corinth on the left: all which
“ towns, once famous and flourishing, now lie
“ overturned, and buried in their ruins: upon
“ this sight, I could not but think presently
“ within myself, alas! how do we poor mortals
“ fret and vex ourselves, if any of our friends
“ happen to die, or to be killed, whose life is
“ yet so short, when the carcases of so many
“ noble cities lie here exposed before me in one
“ view? Why wilt thou not then command
“ thyself, Servius, and remember, that thou
“ art born a man? Believe me, I was not a lit-
“ tle confirmed by this contemplation: try the

“ force of it therefore , if you please , upon
“ yourself , and imagine the same prospect be-
“ fore your own eyes. But to come nearer
“ home ; when you consider how many of our
“ greatest men have perished lately at once ;
“ what destruction has been made in the Em-
“ pire ; what havock in all the Provinces ; how
“ can you be so much shocked to be deprived
“ of the fleeting breath of one little woman ?
“ who , if she had not died at this time , must
“ necessarily have died a few years after , since
“ that was the condition of her being born.
“ But recal your mind from reflections of this
“ kind , to the consideration of yourself ; and
“ think rather on what becomes your character
“ and dignity ; that your daughter lived , as
“ long as life was worth enjoying , as long as
“ the Republic stood ; had seen her Father
“ Prætor , Consul , Augur ; been married to the
“ noblest of our youth ; had tasted every good
“ in life ; and when the Republic fell , then
“ quitted it : what ground is there then , either
“ for you , or her , to complain of fortune on
“ this account ? In short , do not forget , that
“ you are Cicero ; one , who has been used al-
“ ways to prescribe and give advice to others ;
“ nor imitate those paltry Physicians , who pre-
“ tend to cure other people’s diseases , yet are
“ not able to cure their own ; but suggest rather
“ to yourself the same lesson , which you would
“ give in the same case. There is no grief so
“ great , which length of time will not alle-

“viate: but it would be shameful in you to
“wait for that time, and not to prevent it by
“your wisdom: besides, if there be any sense
“in the dead, such was her love and piety to
“you, that she must be concerned to see, how
“much you afflict yourself. Give this therefore
“to the deceased; give it to your friends; give it
“to your country; that it may have the benefit of
“your assistance and advice, whenever there shall
“be occasion. Lastly, since fortune has now made
“it necessary to us to accommodate ourselves to
“our present situation; do not give any one a
“handle to think, that you are not so much
“bewailing your daughter, as the state of the
“times, and the victory of certain persons. I
“am ashamed to write any more, lest I should
“seem to distrust your prudence; and will add
“therefore but one thing farther, and conclude.
“We have sometimes seen you bear prosperity
“nobly, with great honor and applause to your-
“self; let us now see, that you can bear ad-
“versity with the same moderation, and with-
“out thinking it a greater burden, than you
“ought to do: lest in the number of all your
“other virtues, this one at last be thought do
“be wanting. As to myself, when I understand
“that your mind is grown more calm and com-
“posed, I will send you word, how all things
“go on here, and what is the state of the Pro-
“vince. Adieu.”

His answer to Sulpicius was the same in effect
with what he gave to all his friends; “that his

“ case was different from all the examples , which
“ he had been collecting for his own imitation,
“ of men, who had born the loss of children with
“ firmness ; since they lived in times when their
“ dignity in the state was able in great measure
“ to compensate their misfortune : but for me ,”
says he , “ after I had lost all those ornaments,
“ which you enumerate, and which I had acquired
“ with the utmost pains, I have now lost the only
“ comfort that was left to me. In this ruin of the
“ Republic, my thoughts were not diverted by
“ serving either my friends or my country : I had
“ no inclination to the Forum ; could not bear the
“ sight of the Senate ; took myself, as the case
“ in truth was, to have lost all the fruit of my
“ industry and fortunes : yet when I reflected,
“ that all this was common to you, and to many
“ others, as well as to myself ; and was forcing
“ myself therefore to bear it tolerably ; I had still
“ in Tullia, somewhat always to recur to, in
“ which I could acquiesce ; and in whose sweet
“ conversation I could drop all my cares and
“ troubles : but by this last cruel wound, all the
“ rest, which seemed to be healed, are broken
“ out again afresh : for as I then could relieve the
“ uneasiness, which the Republic gave me, by
“ what I found at home ; so I cannot now, in
“ the affliction which I feel at home, find any
“ remedy abroad ; but am driven, as well from
“ my house, as the Forum ; since neither my
“ house can ease my public grief, nor the public
“ my domestic one ”.

The remonstrances of his friends had but little effect upon him; all the relief that he found, was from reading and writing, in which he continually employed himself; and did what no man had ever done before him, draw up a treatise of consolation for himself; from which he professes to have received his greatest comfort; “Though he wrote it, he owns, at a time when, in the opinion of the Philosophers, he was not so wise as he ought to have been: but I did violence,” says he, “to my nature; to make the greatness of my sorrow give place to the greatness of the medicine; though I acted against the advice of Chrysippus, who dissuades the application of any remedy to the first assaults of grief⁹⁸.” In this work he chiefly imitated Crantor, the Academic, who had left a celebrated piece on the same subject; yet he inserted also whatever pleased him, from any other author who had written upon it⁹⁹; illustrating his precepts all the way, by examples from their own history, of the most eminent Romans of both sexes, who had born the same misfortune with a remarkable constancy. This book was much read by the primitive Fathers, especially Lactantius; to whom we are obliged for the few fragments, which remain of it: for, as the Critics have long since observed, that piece, which we now see in the collection of his writings, under the title of Consolation, is undoubtedly spurious.

But the design of this treatise was, not only to relieve his own mind, but to consecrate the

virtues and memory of Tullia to all posterity: nor did his fondness for her stop here; but suggested the project of a more effectual consecration, by building a Temple to her, and erecting her into a sort of Deity. It was an opinion of the Philosophers, which he himself constantly favored, and in his present circumstances particularly indulged, “that the souls of men were of heavenly
“ extraction: and that the pure and chaste, at
“ their dissolution from the body, returned to
“ the fountain from which they were derived, to
“ subsist eternally in the fruition and participation
“ of the Divine Nature; whilst the impure and
“ corrupt were left to grovel below in the dirt
“ and darkness of those inferior regions.” He declares therefore, “that as the wisdom of the
“ ancients had consecrated and deified many excellent persons of both sexes, whose Temples
“ were then remaining; the progeny of Cadmus;
“ of Amphitryon; of Tyndarus; so he would
“ perform the same honor to Tullia; who, if any
“ creature had ever deserved it, was of all the
“ most worthy of it. I will do it therefore,” says he, “and consecrate thee, thou best and most
“ learned of women, now admitted into the assembly of the Gods, to the regard and veneration
“ of all mortals.”

In his Letters to Atticus we find the strongest expressions of his resolution and impatience to see this design executed: “I will have a Temple,” says he; “it is not possible to divert me from
“ it — if it be not finished this summer, I shall

“ not think myself clear of guilt — I am more
“ religiously bound to the execution of it, than
“ any man ever was to the performance of his
“ vow ¹⁰¹.” He seems to have designed a Fabric
of great magnificence; for he had settled the plan
with his Architect, and contracted for Pillars of
Chian marble, with a sculptor of that Isle; where
both the work and the materials were the most
esteemed of any in Greece ¹⁰². One reason, that
determined him to a Temple, rather than a Se-
pulchre, was, that in the one he was not limited
in the expense, whereas in the other he was con-
fined by law to a certain sum, which he could
not exceed, without the forfeiture of the same sum
also to the public: yet this, as he tells us, was
not the chief motive, but a resolution, that he
had taken, of making a proper apotheosis ¹⁰³. The
only difficulty was to find a place that suited his
purpose: his first thought was to purchase certain
gardens cross the Tiber, which lying near the city,
and in the public view, were the most likely to
draw a resort of votaries to his new Temple:
“ he presses Atticus therefore to buy them for him
“ at any rate, without regard to his circumstances;
“ since he would sell, or mortgage, or be con-
“ tent to live on little, rather than be disap-
“ pointed: Groves and remote places,” he says,
“ were proper only for Deities of an established
“ name and religion; but for the Deification of
“ mortals, public and open situations were neces-
“ sary, to strike the eyes, and attract the notice
“ of the people.” But he found so many obstruc-

tions in all his attempts of purchasing, that to save trouble and expense, Atticus advised him, to build at last in one of his own villas; to which he seemed inclined, lest the summer should pass without doing any thing: yet he was irresolute still, which of his villas he should chuse; and discouraged, by reflecting on the change of masters, to which all private estates were exposed, in a succession of ages; which might defeat the end of his building, and destroy the honor of his Temple; by converting it to other uses, or suffering it to fall into ruins¹⁰⁴.

But after all his eagerness and solicitude about this Temple, it was never actually built by him; since we find no mention of it in any of the ancient writers; which could not have been omitted, if a fabric so memorable had ever been erected¹⁰⁵. It is likely, that as his grief evaporated, and his mind grew more calm, he began to consider his project more philosophically; and to perceive the vanity of expecting any lasting glory from such monuments, which time itself, in the course of a few ages, must necessarily destroy: it is certain at least, that as he made no step towards building it this summer, so Cæsar's death, which happened before the next, gave fresh obstruction to it, by the hurry of affairs, in which it engaged him; and though he had not still wholly dropt the thoughts of it, but continued to make preparation, and to set apart a fund for it¹⁰⁶; yet in the short and busy scene of life, which remained to him, he never had leisure enough to carry it into execution.

He was now grown so fond of solitude, that all company was become uneasy to him; and when his friend Philippus, the Father-in-law of Octavius, happened to come to his villa in that neighbourhood, he was not a little disturbed at it, from the apprehension of being teased with his visits; and he tells Atticus, with some pleasure, that he had called upon him only to pay a short compliment, and went back again to Rome, without giving him any trouble¹⁰⁷. His wife Publilia also wrote him word, that her Mother and Brother intended to wait upon him, and that she would come along with them, if he would give her leave; which she begged in the most earnest and submissive terms — but his answer was, that he was more indisposed than ever to receive company, and would not have them come: and lest they should come without leave, he desires Atticus to watch their motions, and give him notice, that he might contrive to avoid them¹⁰⁸. A denial so peremptory confirms what Plutarch says, that his wife was now in disgrace with him, on account of her carriage towards his daughter, and for seeming to rejoice at her death: a crime, which, in the tenderness of his affliction, appeared to him so heinous, that he could not bear the thoughts of seeing her any more; and though it was inconvenient to him, to part with her fortune at this time, yet he resolved to send her a divorce, as a proper sacrifice to the honor of Tullia¹⁰⁹.

Brutus likewise about this time took a reso-

lution of putting away his wife Claudia, for the sake of taking Porcia, Bibulus's widow, and his Uncle Cato's daughter. But he was much censured for this step; since Claudia had no stain upon her character; was nobly born; the Sister of Appius Claudius; and nearly allied to Pompey; so that his Mother Servilia, though Cato's Sister, seems to have been averse to the divorce, and strongly in the interest of Claudia, against her Niece. Cicero's advice upon it was, that if Brutus was resolved upon the thing, he should do it out of hand, as the best way to put an end to people's talking; by showing, that it was not done out of levity or complaisance to the times, but to take the daughter of Cato, whose name was now highly popular¹¹⁰: which Brutus soon after complied with, and made Porcia his wife.

There happened another accident this summer, which raised a great alarm in the City; the surprising death of Marcellus, whom Cæsar had lately pardoned. He had left Mitylene, and was come as far as Piræus, on his way towards Rome; where he spent a day, with his old friend and colleague, Serv. Sulpicius, intending to pursue his voyage the day following by sea; but in the night, after Sulpicius had taken leave of him, on the twenty-third of May, he was killed by his friend and client, Magius, who stabbed himself instantly, with the same poniard: of which Sulpicius sent the following account to Cicero.

Serv. Sulpicius to M. T. Cicero.

“ Though I know that the news, which I
“ am going to tell you, will not be agreeable,
“ yet since chance and nature govern the lives
“ of us all, I thought it my duty to acquaint
“ you with the fact, in what manner soever it
“ happened. On the twenty-second of May I
“ came by sea from Epidaurus to Piræus, to
“ meet my colleague Marcellus, and for the sake
“ of his company, spent that day with him
“ there. The next day, when I took my leave
“ of him, with design to go from Athens into
“ Bœotia, to finish the remaining part of my
“ jurisdiction, he, as he told me, intended to
“ set sail at the same time towards Italy. The
“ day following, about four in the morning,
“ when I was preparing to set out from Athens,
“ his friend, P. Postumius, came to let me
“ know, that Marcellus was stabbed by his
“ companion P. Magius Cilo, after supper, and
“ had received two wounds, the one in his sto-
“ mach, the other in his head near the ear,
“ but he was in hopes still, that he might live;
“ that Magius presently killed himself; and
“ that Marcellus sent him to inform me of the
“ case, and to desire, that I would bring some
“ Physicians to him. I got some together im-
“ mediately, and went away with them before
“ break of day: but when I was come near Pi-
“ ræus, Acidinus’s boy met me with a note
“ from his master, in which it was signified, that

“ Marcellus died a little before day. Thus a
“ great man was murdered by a base villain;
“ and he, whom his very enemies had spared
“ on the account of his dignity, received his
“ death from the hands of a friend. I went
“ forward, however, to his tent, where I found
“ two of his freedmen, and a few of his slaves;
“ all the rest, they said, were fled, being in a
“ terrible fright, on the account of their master’s
“ murder. I was forced to carry his body with
“ me into the City, in the same litter in which
“ I came, and by my own servants: where I
“ provided a funeral for him, as splendid as the
“ condition of Athens would allow. I could
“ not prevail with the Athenians to grant a
“ place of burial for him within the City; they
“ said, that it was forbidden by their religion,
“ and had never been indulged to any man:
“ but they readily granted, what was the most
“ desirable in the next place, to bury him in
“ any of their public Schools, that I pleased. I
“ chose a place, therefore, the noblest in the
“ Universe, the School of the Academy, where I
“ burnt him; and have since given orders, that
“ the Athenians should provide a Marble Mo-
“ nument for him in the same place. Thus I
“ have faithfully performed to him, both when
“ living and dead, every duty, which our part-
“ nership in office, and my particular relation
“ to him required. Adieu. The thirtieth of May
“ from Athens^{III}. ”

M. Marcellus was the head of a family,

which, for a succession of many ages, had made the first figure in Rome, and was himself adorned with all the virtues, that could qualify him to sustain that dignity, which he derived from his noble ancestors. He had formed himself in a particular manner for the Bar, where he soon acquired great fame; and, of all the Orators of his time, seems to have approached the nearest to Cicero himself, in the character of a complete Speaker. His manner of speaking was elegant, strong, and copious; with a sweetness of voice, and propriety of action, that added a grace and lustre to every thing that he said. He was a constant admirer and imitator of Cicero, of the same principles in peace, and on the same side in war; so that Cicero laments his absence, as the loss of a companion and partner, in their common studies and labors of life. Of all the Magistrates, he was the fiercest opposer of Cæsar's power, and the most active to reduce it: his high spirit, and the ancient glory of his house, made him impatient under the thought of receiving a master; and when the battle of Pharsalia seemed at last to have imposed one upon them, he retired to Mitylene, the usual resort of men of learning; there to spend the rest of his days in a studious retreat, remote from arms, and the hurry of war; and determined neither to seek, nor to accept any grace from the Conqueror. Here Brutus paid him a visit, and found him, as he gave an account to Cicero, as perfectly easy and happy under all the misery of the times, from
the

the consciousness of his integrity, as the condition of human life could bear; surrounded with the principal Scholars and Philosophers of Greece, and eager in the pursuit of knowledge; so that in departing from him towards Italy, he seemed, he said, to be going himself into exile, rather than leaving Marcellus in it¹¹².

Magius, who killed him, was of a family which had borne some of the public offices, and had himself been Quæstor¹¹³; and having attached himself to the fortunes of Marcellus, and followed him through the wars and his exile, was now returning with him to Italy. Sulpicius gives no hint of any cause, that induced him to commit this horrid fact: which, by the immediate death of Magius, could never be clearly known. Cicero's conjecture was, that Magius, oppressed with debts, and apprehending some trouble on that score at his return, had been urging Marcellus, who was his sponsor for some part of them, to furnish him with money to pay the whole; and by receiving a denial, was provoked to the madness of killing his Patron¹¹⁴. Others assign a different reason, as the rage of jealousy, and the impatience of seeing others more favored by Marcellus, than himself¹¹⁵.

As soon as the news reached Rome, it raised a general consternation: and from the suspicious nature of the times, all people's thoughts were presently turned on Cæsar, as if he were privately the contriver of it; and from the wretched fate of so illustrious a Citizen, every man began

to think himself in danger: Cicero was greatly shocked at it, and seemed to consider it, as the prelude of some greater evil to ensue; and Atticus signifying his concern upon it, advises him to take a more particular care of himself, as being the only consular Senator left, who stood exposed to any envy¹¹⁶. But Cæsar's friends soon cleared him of all suspicion; as indeed the fact itself did, when the circumstances came to be known, and fixt the whole guilt of it on the fury of Magius.

There appeared at this time a bold Impostor, who began to make a great noise and figure in Italy, by assuming the name, and pretending to be the Grandson of Caius Marius: but apprehending that Cæsar would soon put an end to his pretensions, and treat him as he deserved, he sent a pathetic Letter to Cicero, by some young fellows of his company, to justify his claim and descent, and to implore his protection against the enemies of his family; conjuring him, by their relation; by the poem, which he had formerly written in praise of Marius; by the eloquence of L. Crassus, his mother's Father, whom he had likewise celebrated, that he would undertake the defence of his cause: Cicero answered him very gravely, that he could not want a Patron, when his Kinsman Cæsar, so excellent and generous a man, was now the Master of all; yet that he also should be ready to favor him¹¹⁷. But Cæsar, at his return, knowing him to be a cheat, banished him out of Italy; since instead of being, what he

pretended to be, he was found to be only a Farrier, whose true name was Herophilus¹¹⁸.

Ariarathes the Brother and presumptive heir of Ariobarzanes, King of Cappadocia, came to Rome this year; and as Cicero had a particular friendship with his family, and, when Consul, had, by a decree of the Senate, conferred upon his Father the honor of the Regal Title, he thought proper to send a servant to meet him on the road, and invite him to his house: but he was already engaged by Sestius, whose office it then was, to receive foreign Princes and Ambassadors at the public expense; which Cicero was not displeased with in the present state of his domestic affairs: he comes, says he, I guess to purchase some kingdom of Cæsar, for he has not at present a foot of land of his own¹¹⁹.

Cicero's whole time during his solitude was employed in reading and writing: this was the business both of his days and nights: it is incredible, he says, how much he wrote, and how little he slept: and if he had not fallen into that way of spending his time, he should not have known what to do with himself¹²⁰. His studies were chiefly Philosophical, which he had been fond of from his youth, and, after a long intermission, now resumed with great ardor; having taken a resolution, to explain to his Countrymen in their own language whatever the Greeks had taught on every part of Philosophy whether speculative or practical: "For being driven, as he tells us, "from the public administration, he knew no

“ way so effectual of doing good, as by instructing
“ the minds, and reforming the morals of the
“ youth; which, in the licence of those times,
“ wanted every help to restrain and correct
“ them. The calamity of the City, says he,
“ made this task necessary to me: since, in the
“ confusion of civil arms, I could neither defend
“ it after my old way; nor, when it was
“ impossible for me to be idle, could I find any
“ thing better, on which to employ myself. My
“ Citizens therefore will pardon, or rather thank
“ me; that when the government was fallen into
“ the power of a single person, I neither wholly
“ hid, nor afflicted myself unnecessarily; nor
“ acted in such a manner, as to seem angry at
“ the man, or the times; nor yet flattered or
“ admired the fortune of another so, as to be
“ displeased with my own. For I had learnt
“ from Plato and Philosophy, that these turns
“ and revolutions of states are natural; some-
“ times into the hands of a few, sometimes of the
“ many, sometimes of one: as this was the case
“ of our own Republic; so when I was deprived
“ of my former post in it, I betook myself to
“ these studies, in order to relieve my mind
“ from the sense of our common miseries, and to
“ serve my country at the same time in the best
“ manner that I was able: for my books supplied
“ the place of my votes in the Senate; and of
“ my speeches to the people; and I took up
“ philosophy, as a substitute for my management
“ of the state ¹²². ”

He now published therefore, in the way of dialogue, a book, which he called Hortensius, in honor of his deceased friend: where in a debate of learning he did, what he had often done in contests of the Bar, undertake the defence of Philosophy against Hortensius, to whom he assigned the part of arraigning it ¹²². It was the reading of this book, long since unfortunately lost, which first inflamed St. Austin, as he himself somewhere declares, to the study of the Christian Philosophy: and if it had yielded no other fruit, yet happy it was to the world, that it once subsisted, to be the instrument of raising up so illustrious a convert and champion to the Church of Christ ¹²³.

He drew up also about this time in four books, a particular account and defence of the Philosophy of the Academy; the sect, which he himself followed; being, as he says, of all others, the most consistent with itself, and the least arrogant, as well as most elegant ¹²⁴. He had before published a work on the same subject in two books; the one called Catulus, the other Lucullus; but considering that the argument was not suited to the characters of the speakers, who were not particularly remarkable for any study of that sort, he was thinking to change them to Cato and Brutus: when Atticus happening to signify to him, that Varro had expressed a desire to be inserted in some of his writings, he presently reformed his scheme, and enlarged it into four Books, which he addressed to Varro; taking upon himself the part of Philo, of defending the Principles of the Academy; and

assigning to Varro that of Antiochus; of opposing and confuting them; and introducing Atticus as the moderator of the dispute. He finished the whole with great accuracy; so as to make it a present worthy of Varro; and if he was not deceived, he says, by a partiality and self-love too common in such cases, there was nothing on the subject equal to it, even among the Greeks¹²⁵. All these four books, excepting part of the first, are now lost; whilst the second book of the first edition, which he took some pains to suppress, remains still entire, under its original Title of Lucullus.

He published likewise this year one of the noblest of his works, and on the noblest subject in Philosophy, his treatise called, *de Finibus*, or of the chief good and ill of man; written in Aristotle's manner¹²⁶; in which he explained with great elegance and perspicuity, the several opinions of all the ancient sects on that most important question. It is there inquired, he tells us, what is the chief end, to which all the views of life ought to be referred, in order to make it happy: or what it is, which nature pursues as the supreme good, and shuns as the worst of ills¹²⁷. The work consists of five books: in the two first, the Epicurean doctrine is largely opened and discussed; being defended by Torquatus, and confuted by Cicero, in a conference supposed to be held in his Cuman Villa, in the presence of Triarius, a young Gentleman, who came with Torquatus to visit him. The two next explain the doctrine of the

Stoics, asserted by Cato, and opposed by Cicero, in a friendly debate, upon their meeting accidentally in Lucullus's Library. The fifth contains the opinions of the old Academy, or the Peripatetics, explained by Piso, in a third dialogue, supposed to be held at Athens, in the presence of Cicero, his Brother Quintus, Cousin Lucius, and Atticus. The Critics have observed some impropriety in this last book; in making Piso refer to the other two dialogues, of which he had no share, and could not be presumed to have any knowledge¹²⁸. But if any inaccuracy of that kind be really found in this, or any other of his works, it may reasonably be excused by that multiplicity of affairs, which scarce allowed him time to write, much less to revise what he wrote: and in dialogues of length composed by piece-meal, and in the short intervals of leisure, it cannot seem strange that he should sometimes forget his artificial, to resume his proper character; and enter inadvertently into a part, which he had assigned to another. He addressed this work to Brutus, in return for a present of the same kind, which Brutus had sent to him a little before, a treatise upon virtue¹²⁹.

Not long after he had finished this work, he published another of equal gravity, called his Tusculan Disputations; in five books also, upon as many different questions in Philosophy, the most important and useful to the happiness of human life. The first teaches us, how to condemn the terrors of death, and to look upon it as a

bleffing, rather than an evil: the fecond, to fupport pain and affliction with a manly fortitude: the third, to appeafe all our complaints and uneafineffes under the accidents of life: the fourth, to moderate all our other paffions: the fifth, to evince the fufficiency of virtue to make man happy. It was his cuftom, in the opportunities of his leifure, to take fome friends with him into the country; where inftead, of amufing themfelves with idle fports or feafts, their diverfions were wholly fpeculative; tending to improve the mind, and enlarge the underftanding. In this manner he now fpent five days at his Tufculan Villa, in difcuffing with his friends the feveral queftions juft mentioned: for after employing the mornings in declaiming and rhetorical exercifes, they ufed to retire in the afternoon into a Gallery, called the Academy, which he had built for the purpofe of Philofophical conferences: where, after the manner of the Greeks, he held a School, as they called it, and invited the company to call for any fubject, that they defired to hear explained; which being propofed accordingly by fome of the audience, became immediately the argument of that day's debate. Thefe five conferences or dialogues he collected afterwards into writing, in the very words and manner in which they really paffed, and publifhed them under the title of his Tufculan Difputations, from the name of the Villa, in which they were held¹³⁰.

He wrote alfo a little piece, in the way of a Funeral Encomium, in praife of Porcia; the fifter

of Cato, and wife of Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cæsar's mortal enemy; which shows how little he was still disposed to court the times. Varro and Lollius attempted the same subject; and Cicero desires Atticus to send him their compositions: but all the three are now lost: though Cicero took the pains to revise and correct his; and sent copies of it afterwards to Domitius the Son, and Brutus, the Nephew of that Porcia¹³¹.

Cæsar continued all this while in Spain, pursuing the Sons of Pompey, and providing for the future peace and settlement of the Province; whence he paid Cicero the compliment of sending him an account of his success with his own hand. Hirtius also gave him early intelligence of the defeat and flight of the two Brothers; which was not disagreeable to him: for though he was not much concerned about the event of the war, and expected no good from it on either side, yet the opinion, which he had conceived of the fierceness and violence of the young Pompeys, especially of the elder of them, Cnæus, engaged his wishes rather for Cæsar. In a Letter to Atticus, Hirtius, says he, wrote me word, that Sextus Pompey had withdrawn himself from Corduba into the hither Spain; and that Cnæus too was fled, I know not whither; nor in truth do I care¹³²: and this indeed seems to have been the common sentiment of all the Republicans: as Cassius himself, writing to Cicero on the same subject, declares still more explicitly; "May I perish," says he, "if I be not solicitous
"about the event of things in Spain; and would

“ rather keep our old and clement master, than
“ try a new and cruel one. You know what a
“ fool Cnæus is ; how he takes cruelty for a
“ virtue : how he has always thought, that we
“ laughed at him ; I am afraid lest he should take
“ it into his head to repay our jokes in his rustic
“ manner with the sword ¹³³. ”

Young Quintus Cicero, who made the campaign along with Cæsar, thinking to please his company, and to make his fortunes the better among them, began to play over his old game, and to abuse his uncle again in all places. Cicero, in his account of it to Atticus, says, “ there is
“ nothing new, but that Hirtius has been
“ quarrelling in my defence, with our Nephew
“ Quintus, who takes all occasions of saying
“ every thing bad of me, and especially at public
“ feasts ; and when he has done with me, falls
“ next upon his father : he is thought to say
“ nothing so credible, as that we are both irre-
“ conciliable to Cæsar ; that Cæsar should trust
“ neither of us ; and even beware of me : this
“ would be terrible ; did I not see, that our King
“ is persuaded that I have no spirit left ¹³⁴. ”

Atticus was always endeavouring to moderate Cicero's impatience under the present government, and persuading him, to comply more chearfully with the times ; nor to reject the friendship of Cæsar, which was so forwardly offered to him : and upon his frequent complaints of the slavery and indignity of his present condition, he took occasion to observe, what Cicero could not but

own to be true, that if to pay a particular court and observance to a man, was the mark of slavery, those in power seemed to be slaves rather to him than he to them¹³⁵. With the same view he was now pressing him, among his other works, to think of something to be addressed to Cæsar: but Cicero had no appetite to this task; he saw how difficult it would be to perform it without lessening his character, and descending to flattery; yet being urged to it also by other friends, he drew up a Letter, which was communicated to Hirtius and Galbus for their judgment upon it, whether it was proper to be sent to Cæsar. The subject seems to have been some advice, about restoring the peace and liberty of the Republic; and to dissuade him from the Parthian war, which he intended for his next expedition, till he had finished the more necessary work of settling the state of things at home: there was nothing in it, he says, but what might come from the best of Citizens. It was drawn, however, with so much freedom, that though Atticus seemed pleased with it, yet the other two durst not advise the sending it, unless some passages were altered and softened; which disgusted Cicero so much, that he resolved not to write at all; and when Atticus was still urging him to be more complaisant, he answered with great spirit in two or three Letters¹³⁶.

“As for the Letter to Cæsar,” says he, “I was
“always very willing, that they should first read
“it: for otherwise I had both been wanting in

“ civility to them; and if I had happened to give
“ offence, exposed myself also to danger. They
“ have dealt ingenuously and kindly with me,
“ in not concealing what they thought: but what
“ pleases me the most is, that by requiring so
“ many alterations, they give me an excuse for
“ not writing at all. As to the Parthian war, what
“ had I to consider about it, but that which I
“ thought would please him; for what subject was
“ there else for a Letter, but flattery? or if I had
“ a mind to advise, what I really took to be the
“ best, could I have been at a loss for words?
“ there is no occasion therefore for any Letter;
“ for where there is no great matter to be gained,
“ and a slip, though not great, may make us
“ uneasy, what reason is there to run any risk?
“ especially, when it is natural for him to think,
“ that as I wrote nothing to him before, so I
“ should have written nothing now, had not the
“ war been wholly ended: besides, I am afraid
“ lest he should imagine, that I sent this as a
“ sweetener for my Cato: in short, I was heartily
“ ashamed of what I had written; and nothing
“ could fall out more luckily, than that it did not
“ please.”

Again, “ As for writing to Cæsar, I swear to
“ you, I cannot do it: nor is it yet the shame of
“ it that deters me, which ought to do it the
“ most; for how mean would it be to flatter,
“ when even to live is base in me? but it is not,
“ as I was saying, this shame, which hinders me,
“ though I wish it did; for I should then be, what

“ I ought to be; but I can think of nothing to
“ write upon. As to those exhortations, addressed
“ to Alexander, by the eloquent and the learned
“ of that time, you see on what points they turn:
“ they are addressed to a youth, inflamed with
“ the thirst of true glory, and desiring to be
“ advised how to acquire it. On an occasion of
“ such dignity, words can never be wanting; but
“ what can I do on my subject? Yet I had
“ scratched, as it were, out of the block some
“ faint resemblance of an image: but because there
“ were some things hinted in it, a little better
“ than what we see done every day, it was disliked.
“ I am not at all sorry for it; for had the Letter
“ gone, take my word for it, I should have had
“ cause to repent. For do you not see that very
“ scholar of Aristotle, a youth of the greatest parts,
“ and the greatest modesty, after he came to be
“ called a king, grow proud, cruel, extravagant?
“ Do you imagine, that this man, ranked in the
“ processions of the Gods, and enshrined in the
“ same Temple with Romulus, will be pleased
“ with the moderate style of my Letters? It is
“ better that he be disgusted at my not writing,
“ than at what I write: in a word, let him do
“ what he pleases; for that problem, which I once
“ proposed to you, and thought so difficult, in
“ what way I shall manage him, is over with
“ me: and, in truth, I now wish more to feel the
“ effect of his resentment, be it what it will, than
“ I was before afraid of it¹³⁸.” “ I beg of you
“ therefore,” says he, in another Letter, “ let us

“ have no more of this; but show ourselves at least
“ half free, by our silence and retreat ¹³⁹. ”

From this little fact, one cannot help reflecting on the fatal effects of arbitrary power, upon the studies and compositions of men of genius, and on the restraint, that it necessarily lays on the free course of good sense and truth among men. It had yet scarce shown itself in Rome, when we see one of the greatest men, as well as the greatest wits which that Republic ever bred, embarrassed in the choice of a subject to write upon; and for fear of offending, chusing not to write at all: and it was the same power, which, from this beginning, gradually debased the purity both of the Roman wit and language, from the perfection of elegance, to which Cicero had advanced them, to that state of rudeness and barbarism which we find in the productions of the lower Empire.

This was the present state of things between Cæsar and Cicero; - all the marks of kindness on Cæsar's part; of coldness and reserve on Cicero's. Cæsar was determined never to part with his power, and took the more pains, for that reason, to make Cicero easy under it: he seems indeed to have been somewhat afraid of him; not of his engaging in any attempt against his life; but lest by his insinuations, his raileries, and his authority, he should excite others to some act of violence: but what he more especially desired and wanted, was to draw from him some public testimony of his approbation; and to be recommended by his writings to the favor of posterity.

Cicero on the other hand, perceiving no step taken towards the establishment of the Republic, but more and more reason every day to despair of it, grew still more indifferent to every thing else: the restoration of public liberty was the only condition, on which he could entertain any friendship with Cæsar, or think and speak of him with any respect: without that, no favors could oblige him; since to receive them from a master, was an affront to his former dignity, and but a splendid badge of servitude: books therefore were his only comfort; for while he conversed with them, he found himself easy, and fancied himself free. — Thus in a Letter to Cassius, touching upon the misery of the times, he adds, “What is become
“ then, you will say, of Philosophy? Why, yours
“ is in the kitchen; but mine is troublesome to
“ me: for I am ashamed to live a slave; and
“ feign myself therefore to be doing something
“ else, that I may not hear the reproach of
“ Plato.”

During Cæsar's stay in Spain, Antony set forward from Italy, to pay his compliments to him there, or to meet him at least on the road in his return towards home: but when he had made about half of the journey, he met with some dispatches, which obliged him to turn back in all haste to Rome. This raised a new alarm in the city; and especially among the Pompeians, who were afraid, that Cæsar, having now subdued all opposition, was resolved, after the example of former Conquerors, to take his revenge in cool blood on all his adversaries; and had sent

Antony back, as the properest instrument to execute some orders of that sort. Cicero himself had the same suspicion, and was much surpris'd at Antony's sudden return; till Balbus and Oppius eas'd him of his apprehensions, by sending him an account of the true reason of it¹⁴¹: which, contrary to expectation, gave no uneasiness at last to any body, but to Antony himself. Antony had bought Pompey's Houses in Rome and the neighbourhood, with all their rich furniture, at Cæsar's auction, soon after his return from Ægypt; but trusting to his interest with Cæsar, and to the part, which he had born in advancing him to his power, never dreamt of being obliged to pay for them; but Cæsar, being disgusted by the account of his debauches, and extravagancies in Italy, and resolv'd to show himself the sole master, nor suffer any contradiction to his will, sent peremptory orders to L. Plancus, the Prætor, to require immediate payment of Antony, or else to levy the money upon his sureties, according to the tenor of the bond. This was the cause of his quick return, to prevent that disgrace from falling upon him, and find some means of complying with Cæsar's commands: it provok'd him, however, to such a degree, that in the height of his resentment, he is said to have enter'd into a design of taking away Cæsar's life; of which Cæsar himself complain'd openly in the Senate¹⁴².

The war being ended in Spain by the death of Cnæus Pompey, and the flight of Sextus, Cæsar
finished

finished his answer to Cicero's Cato in two books, which he sent immediately to Rome, in order to be published. This gave Cicero at last the argument of a Letter to him, to return thanks for the great civility with which he had treated him in that piece; and to pay his compliments likewise in his turn, upon the elegance of the composition. This Letter was communicated again to Balbus and Oppius, who declared themselves extremely pleased with it, and forwarded it directly to Cæsar. In Cicero's account of it to Atticus, "I forgot," says he, "to send you a copy of what I wrote to Cæsar: not for the reason, which you suspect, that I was ashamed to let you see, how well I could flatter: for in truth, I wrote to him no otherwise, than as if I was writing to an equal; for I really have a good opinion of his two books, as I told you, when we were together; and wrote therefore both without flattering him; and yet so, that he will read nothing, I believe, with more pleasure¹⁴³."

Cæsar returned to Rome about the end of A. Urb. 708. September; when divesting himself of the Consulship, he conferred it on Q. Fabius Maximus, and C. Trebonius, for the three remaining months of the year¹⁴⁴. His first care, after his arrival, was to entertain the City with the most splendid triumph which Rome had ever seen: but the people instead of admiring and applauding it, as he expected, were sullen and silent; considering it, at it really was, a triumph over themselves: purchased by

Cic. 62.

Coff.

Q. FABIVS
MAXIMVS,
C. TREBO-
NIUS.

the loss of their liberty, and the destruction of the best and noblest families of the Republic. They had before given the same proof of their discontent at the Circensian games; where Cæsar's statue, by a decree of the Senate, was carried in the procession, along with those of the Gods: for they gave none of their usual acclamations to the favorite Deities, as they passed, lest they should be thought to give them to Cæsar. Atticus sent an account of it to Cicero, who says in answer to him, Your Letter was agreeable, though the show was so sad — the people, however, behaved bravely, who would not clap even the Goddess Victory for the sake of so bad a neighbour ¹⁴⁶. Cæsar, however, to make amends for the unpopularity of his triumph, and to put the people into good humor, entertained the whole City soon after with something more substantial than shows; two public dinners, with plenty of the most esteemed and costly wines, of Chios and Falernum ¹⁴⁶.

Soon after Cæsar's triumph, the Consul Fabius, one of his Lieutenants in Spain, was allowed to triumph too for the reduction of some parts of that province, which had revolted; but the magnificence of Cæsar made Fabius's triumph appear contemptible; for his models of the conquered Towns, which were always a part of the show, being made only of wood, when Cæsar's were of Silver or Ivory, Chrysippus merrily called them, the cases only of Cæsar's Towns ¹⁴⁷.

Cicero resided generally in the Country, and withdrew himself wholly from the Senate ¹⁴⁸: but

on Cæsar's approach towards Rome, Lepidus began to press him by repeated Letters, to come and give them his assistance; assuring him, that both he and Cæsar would take it very kindly of him. He could not guess, for what particular service they wanted him, except the dedication of some Temple, to which the presence of three Augurs was necessary¹⁴⁹. But whatever it was, as his friends had long been urging the same advice, and persuading him to return to public affairs, he consented at last, to quit his retirement and come to the City; where soon after Cæsar's arrival he had an opportunity of employing his authority and eloquence, where he exerted them always with the greatest pleasure, in the service and defence of an old friend, King Deiotarus.

This prince had already been deprived by Cæsar of part of his dominions, for his adherence to Pompey, and was now in danger of losing the rest, from an accusation preferred against him by his Grandson, of a design pretended to have been formed by him against Cæsar's life, when Cæsar was entertained at his house, four years before, on his return from Egypt. The charge was groundless and ridiculous; but under his present disgrace, any charge was sufficient to ruin him, and Cæsar's countenancing it so far, as to receive and hear it, showed a strong prejudice against the King; and that he wanted only a pretence for stripping him of all that remained to him. Brutus likewise interested himself very warmly in the same cause; and when he went to

meet Cæsar on his road from Spain, made an Oration to him at Nicæa, in favor of Deiotarus, with a freedom which startled Cæsar, and gave him occasion to reflect on what he had not perceived so clearly before, the invincible fierceness and vehemence of Brutus's temper ¹⁵⁰. The present trial was held in Cæsar's house; where Cicero so manifestly exposed the malice of the accuser, and the innocence of the accused, that Cæsar, being determined not to acquit, yet ashamed to condemn him, chose the expedient of reserving his sentence to farther deliberation, till he should go in person into the East, and inform himself of the whole affair upon the spot. Cicero says, that Deiotarus, neither present nor absent, could ever obtain any favor or equity from Cæsar: and that as oft as he pleaded for him, which he was always ready to do, he could never persuade Cæsar to think any thing reasonable that he asked for him ¹⁵¹. He sent a copy of his oration to the King; and, at Dolabella's request, gave another likewise to him: excusing it, as a trifling performance, and hardly worth transcribing; but I had a mind, says he, to make a slight present to my old friend and host, of coarse stuff indeed, yet such as his presents usually are to me ¹⁵².

Some little time after this trial, Cæsar, to show his confidence in Cicero, invited himself to spend a day with him, at his house in the country; and chose the third day of the Saturnalia for his visit; a season always dedicated to mirth and feasting amongst friends and relations ¹⁵³. Cicero gives

Atticus the following account of the entertainment, and how the day passed between them: “ O this guest,” says he, “ whom I so much dreaded! yet I had no reason to repent of him; for he was well pleased with his reception. When he came the evening before, on the eighteenth, to my neighbour Philip’s, the house was so crowded with soldiers, that there was scarce a room left empty for Cæsar to sup in: there were about two thousand of them: which gave me no small pain for the next day: but Barba Cassius relieved me; for he assigned me a guard, and made the rest encamp in the field: so that my house was clear. On the nineteenth, he staid at Philip’s till one in the afternoon; but saw nobody; was settling accounts, I guess, with Balbus; then took a walk on the shore, bathed after two; heard the verses on Marmurra¹⁵⁴, at which he never changed countenance; was rubbed, anointed, sat down to table. Having taken a vomit just before, he eat and drank freely, and was very cheerful¹⁵⁵: the Supper was good and well served: But our discourse at table, as we eat, For taste and seasoning still excell’d our meat¹⁵⁶. Besides Cæsar’s table, his friends were plentifully provided for in three other rooms; nor was there any thing wanting to his freedmen of lower rank, and his slaves; but the better sort were elegantly treated. In a word, I

“ acquitted myself like a man: yet he is not a
 “ guest to whom one would say at parting,
 “ pray call upon me again, as you return: once
 “ is enough: we had not a word on business,
 “ but many on points of literature: in short, he
 “ was delighted with his entertainment, and pas-
 “ sed the day agreeably. He talked of spend-
 “ ing one day at Puteoli; another at Baiæ: thus
 “ you see the manner of my receiving him;
 “ somewhat troublesome indeed, but not uneasy
 “ to me. I shall stay here a little longer, and
 “ then to Tusculum. As he passed by Dolabel-
 “ la’s villa, his troops marched close by his
 “ horse’s side, on the right and left; which was
 “ done no where else. I had this from Ni-
 “ cias ¹⁵⁷. ”

On the last of December, when the Consul Tre-
 bonius was abroad, his Colleague Q. Fabius died
 suddenly; and his death being declared in the
 morning, C. Caninius Rebilus was named by
 Cæsar to the vacancy at one in the afternoon;
 whose office was to continue only through the
 remaining part of that day. This wanton profana-
 tion of the sovereign dignity of the Empire rais-
 ed a general indignation in the City; and a Con-
 sulate so ridiculous gave birth to much raillery,
 and many jokes which are transmitted to us by
 the ancients ¹⁵⁸; of which Cícero, who was the
 chief author of them, gives us the following spe-
 cimen, in his own account of the fact.

Cicero to Curius.

“ I no longer either advise or desire you to
“ come home to us ; but want to fly some-
“ whither myself, where I may hear neither the
“ names nor the acts of these sons of Pelops. It
“ is incredible, how meanly I think of myself,
“ for being present at these transactions. You had
“ surely an early foresight of what was coming
“ on, when you ran away from this place: for
“ though it be vexatious to hear of such things,
“ yet that is more tolerable than to see them.
“ It is well, that you were not in the field, when
“ at seven in the morning, as they were pro-
“ ceeding to an election of Quæstors, the Chair
“ of Q. Maximus, whom they called Consul¹⁵,
“ was set in its place: but, his death being im-
“ mediately proclaimed, it was removed; and
“ Cæsar, though he had taken the auspices for
“ an assembly of the Tribes, changed it to an
“ assembly of the Centuries; and, at one in
“ the afternoon, declared a new Consul, who
“ was to govern till one the next morning. I
“ would have you to know therefore, that whilst
“ Caninius was Consul, nobody dined; and that
“ there was no crime committed in his Consul-
“ ship; for he was so wonderfully vigilant, that
“ through his whole administration he never so
“ much as slept. These things seem ridiculous
“ to you, who were absent, but were you to
“ see them, you would hardly refrain from tears.
“ What if I should tell you the rest? For there

“ are numberless facts of the same kind; which
 “ I could never have born, if I had not taken
 “ refuge in the port of Philosophy, with our
 “ friend Atticus, the companion and partner of
 “ my studies, &c. ”

Cæsar had so many creatures and dependents, who expected the honor of the Consulship from him, as the reward of their services, that it was impossible to oblige them all in the regular way, so that he was forced to contrive the expedient of splitting it, as it were, into parcels, and conferring it for a few months, or weeks, or even days, as it happened to suit his convenience: and as the thing itself was now but a name, without any real power, it was of little moment for what term it was granted; since the shortest gave the same privilege with the longest, and a man once declared Consul, enjoyed ever after the rank and character of a consular Senator.

A. Urb. 709.

Cic. 63.

Coff.

C. JULIUS

CÆSAR V.

M. ANTO-

NIUS.

On the opening of the new year Cæsar entered into his fifth Consulship, in partnership with M. Antony: he had promised it all along to Dolabella, but, contrary to expectation, took it at last to himself. This was contrived by Antony, who, jealous of Dolabella, as, a rival in Cæsar's favor, had been suggesting somewhat to his disadvantage, and laboring to create a diffidence of him in Cæsar; which seems to have been the ground of what is mentioned above, Cæsar's guarding himself so particularly, when he passed by his Villa. Dolabella was sensibly touched with this affront, and came full of indignation to the

Senate; where, not daring to vent his spleen on Cæsar, he entertained the assembly with a severe speech against Antony, which drew on many warm and angry words between them; till Cæsar, to end the dispute, promised to resign the Consulship to Dolabella, before he went to the Parthian war: but Antony protested, that by his authority as Augur, he would disturb that election, whenever it should be attempted ¹⁶²; and declared, without any scruple, the ground of his quarrel with Dolabella was, for having caught him in an attempt to debauch his wife Antonia, the daughter of his uncle; though that was thought to be a calumny, contrived to color his divorce with her, and his late marriage with Fulvia, the widow of Clodius ¹⁶³.

Cæsar was now in the height of all his glory, and dressed, as Florus, says, in all his trappings, like a victim destined to sacrifice ¹⁶⁴. He had received from the Senate the most extravagant honors, both human and divine, which flattery could invent: a Temple, Altar, Priest; his Image carried in procession with the Gods; his Statue among the Kings; one of the months called after his name, and a perpetual Dictatorship ¹⁶⁵. Cicero endeavoured to restrain the excess of this complaisance, within the bounds of reason ¹⁶⁶; but in vain, since Cæsar was more forward to receive, than they to give; and out of the gaiety of his pride, and to try, as it were, to what length their adulation would reach, when he was actually possessed of every thing, which carried with

it any real power, was not content still without a title, which could add nothing but envy, and popular odium; and wanted to be called a King. Plutarch thinks it a strange instance of folly in the people to endure with patience all the real effects of Kingly government, yet declare such an abhorrence to the name. But the folly was not so strange in the people, as it was in Cæsar: it is natural to the multitude to be governed by names rather than things; and the constant art of parties to keep up that prejudice; but it was unpardonable in so great a man, as Cæsar, to lay so much stress on a title, which, so far from being an honor to him, seemed to be a diminution rather of that superior dignity, which he already enjoyed.

Among the other compliments, that were paid to him, there was a new fraternity of Luperci instituted to his honor, and called by his name; of which Antony was the head. Young Quintus Cicero was one of this society, with the consent of his Father, though to the dissatisfaction of his Uncle; who considered it, not only as a low piece of flattery, but an indecency for a young man of family, to be engaged in ceremonies so immodest of running naked and frantic about the Streets¹⁶⁷. The festival was held about the middle of February; and Cæsar, in his triumphal robe, seated himself in the Rostra, in a golden Chair, to see the diversion of the running; where, in the midst of their sport, the Consul Antony, at the head of his naked crew, made him the offer of a

Regal Diadem, and attempted to put it upon his head; at the sight of which a general groan issued from the whole Forum; till upon Cæsar's slight refusal of it, the people loudly testified their joy, by an universal shout. Antony, however, ordered it to be entered in the public acts, that by the command of the people, he had offered the Kingly name and power to Cæsar, and that Cæsar would not accept it ¹⁶⁸.

While this affair of the Kingly Title amused and alarmed the city, two of the Tribunes, Marullus and Cæsetius, were particularly active in discouraging every step and attempt towards it: they took off the Diadem, which certain persons had privately put upon Cæsar's Statue in the Rostre, and committed those to prison, who were suspected to have done it; and publicly punished others for daring to salute him in the streets by the name of King; declaring, that Cæsar himself refused and abhorred that title. This provoked Cæsar beyond his usual temper, and command of himself; so that he accused them to the senate, of a design to raise a sedition against him, by persuading the City, that he really affected to be a King; but when the assembly was going to pass the severest sentence upon them, he was content with deposing them from their Magistracy, and expelling them from the Senate ¹⁶⁹: which convinced people still the more, of his real fondness for a name, that he pretended to despise.

He had now prepared all things for his expedition against the Parthians; had sent his legions

before him into Macedonia ; settled the succession of all the Magistrates for two years to come¹⁷⁰ ; appointed Dolabella to take his own place , as Consul of the current year ; named A. Hirtius and C. Panfa , for Consuls of the next ; and D. Brutus , and Cn. Plancus , for the following year : but before his departure , he resolved to have the Regal Title conferred upon him by the Senate , who were too sensible of his power , and obsequious to his will , to deny him any thing : and to make it the more palatable at the same time to the people he caused a report to be industriously propagated through the city , of ancient prophecies found in the Sybilline books , that the Parthians could not be conquered , but by a King , on the strength of which , Cotta , one of the Guardians of those books was to move the Senate at their next meeting , to decree the title of King to him¹⁷¹. Cicero speaking afterwards of this design , says , it was expected that some forged testimonies would be produced , to show , that he , whom we had felt in reality to be a King , should be called also by that name , if we would be safe : but let us make a bargain with the keepers of those Oracles , that they bring any thing out of them , rather than a King ; which neither the Gods nor men will ever endure again at Rome¹⁷².

One would naturally have expected , after all the fatigues and dangers through which Cæsar had made his way to Empire , that he would have chosen to spend the remainder of a declining life in the quiet enjoyment of all the honors and

pleasures, which absolute power, and a command of the world could bestow: but in the midst of all this glory, he was a stranger still to ease: he saw the people generally disaffected to him, and impatient under his government; and though amused a while with the splendor of his shows and triumphs, yet regretting severely in cool blood the price that they had paid for them; the loss of their liberty, with the lives of the best and noblest of their fellow Citizens. This expedition therefore against the Parthians seems to have been a political pretext for removing himself from the murmurs of the City; and leaving to his Ministers the exercise of an invidious power, and the task of taming the spirits of the populace; whilst he, by employing himself in gathering fresh laurels in the East, and extending the bounds, and retrieving the honor of the Empire, against its most dreaded enemy, might gradually reconcile them to a reign, that was gentle and clement at home, successful and glorious abroad.

But his impatience to be a King defeated all his projects, and accelerated his fate; and pushed on the nobles, who had conspired against his life, to the immediate execution of their plot; that they might save themselves the shame of being forced to concur in an act, which they heartily detested¹⁷: and the Two Brutus in particular, the honor of whose house was founded in the extirpation of Kingly Government, could not but consider it as a personal infamy, and a disgrace to their very name, to suffer the restoration of it.

There were above sixty persons said to be engaged in this conspiracy¹⁷⁴; the greatest part of them of the Senatorian rank; but M. Brutus, and C. Cassius were the chief in credit and authority; the first contrivers and movers of the whole design.

M. Junius Brutus was about one-and-forty years old; of the most illustrious family of the Republic; deriving his name and descent in a direct line from that first Consul, L. Brutus, who expelled Tarquin, and gave freedom to the Roman people¹⁷⁵. Having lost his Father when very young, he was trained with great care by his uncle Cato, in all the studies of polite letters, especially of eloquence and Philosophy, and under the discipline of such a Tutor, imbibed a warm love for liberty and virtue. He had excellent parts, and equal industry, and acquired an early fame at the bar; where he pleaded several causes of great importance, and was esteemed the most eloquent and learned of all the young nobles of his age. His manner of speaking was correct, elegant, judicious, yet wanting that force and copiousness, which is required in a consummate Orator. But philosophy was his favorite study; in which, though he professed himself of the more moderate sect of the old Academy, yet from a certain pride and gravity of temper, he affected the severity of the Stoic, and to imitate his uncle Cato, to which he was wholly unequal: for he was of a mild, merciful, and compassionate disposition; averse to every thing cruel: and was

often forced by the tenderness of his nature to confute the rigor of his principles. While his mother lived in the greatest familiarity with Cæsar he was constantly attached to the opposite party, and firm to the interests of liberty : for the sake of which he followed Pompey, whom he hated, and acted on that side, with a distinguished zeal. At the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar gave particular orders to find out and preserve Brutus ; being desirous to draw him from the pursuit of a cause, that was likely to prove fatal to him : so that when Cato, with the rest of the Chiefs, went to renew the war in Africa, he was induced by Cæsar's generosity and his mother's prayers, to lay down his arms, and return to Italy. Cæsar endeavoured to oblige him by all the honors which his power could bestow : but the indignity of receiving from a Master, what he ought to have received from a free people, shocked him much more than any honors could oblige ; and the ruin, in which he saw his friends involved by Cæsar's usurped dominion, gave him a disgust, which no favors could compensate. He observed therefore a distance and reserve through Cæsar's reign ; aspired to no share of his confidence, or part in his counsels, and by the uncourtly vehemence, with which he defended the rights of King Deiotarus, convinced Cæsar, that he could never be obliged, where he did not find himself free. He cultivated all the while the strictest friendship with Cicero, whose principles, he knew, were utterly averse to the measures of the times ; and

in whose free conversation, he used to mingle his own complaints on the unhappy state of the Republic, and the wretched hands into which it was fallen; till animated by these conferences, and confirmed by the general discontent of all the honest, he formed the bold design of freeing his Country by the destruction of Cæsar. He had publicly defended Milo's act of killing Clodius, by a maxim, which he maintained to be universally true, that those, who live in defiance of the laws, and cannot be brought to a trial, ought to be taken off without a trial. The case was applicable to Cæsar in a much higher degree than to Clodius; whose power had placed him above the reach of the law, and left no way of punishing him, but by an assassination. This therefore was Brutus's motive; and Antony did him the justice to say, that he was the only one of the conspiracy, who entered into it out of principle; that the rest, from private malice, rose up against the man, he alone against the Tyrant¹⁷⁶.

C. Cassius was descended likewise from a family, not less honorable or ancient, nor less zealous for the public liberty, than Brutus's: whose Ancestor, Sp. Cassius, after a triumph and three consulships, is said to have been condemned, and put to death, by his own Father, for aiming at dominion. He showed a remarkable instance, when a boy, of his high spirit and love of liberty; for he gave Sylla's Son, Faustus, a box on the ear, for bragging among his school-fellows, of his Father's greatness and absolute power; and when Pompey called

called the boys before him, to give an account of their quarrel, he declared in his presence, that if Faustus should dare to repeat the words, he would repeat the blow. He was Quæstor to Crassus, in the Parthian war, where he greatly signalized both his courage and skill; and if Crassus had followed his advice, would have preserved the whole army; but after their miserable defeat, he made good his retreat into Syria with the remains of the broken legions: and when the Parthians, flushed with success, pursued him thither soon after, and blocked him up in Antioch, he preserved that City and Province from falling into their hands; and, watching his opportunity, gained a considerable victory over them, with the destruction of their General. In the civil war, after the battle of Pharsalia, he sailed with seventy Ships to the coast of Asia, to raise fresh forces in that country, and renew the war against Cæsar; but, as the Historians tell us, happening to meet with Cæsar crossing the Hellespont, in a common passage-boat, instead of destroying him, as he might have done, he was so terrified by the sight of the Conqueror, that he begged his life in an abject manner, and delivered up his fleet to him. But Cicero gives us a hint of a quite different story, which is much more probable, and worthy of Cassius; that having got intelligence where Cæsar designed to land, he lay in wait for him, in a bay of Cilicia, at the mouth of the river Cydnus, with a resolution to destroy him; but Cæsar happening to land on the opposite shore before he was aware, so that seeing his pro-

ject blasted, and Cæsar secured in a country where all people were declaring for him, he thought it best to make his own peace too, by going over to him with his fleet. He married Tertia, the Sister of Brutus; and though differing in temper and philosophy, was strictly united with him in friendship and politics; and the constant partner of all his counsels. He was brave, witty, learned; yet passionate, fierce, and cruel; so that Brutus was the more amiable friend, he the more dangerous enemy: in his later years he deserted the Stoics, and became a convert to Epicurus; whose doctrine he thought more natural and reasonable; constantly maintaining, that the pleasure, which their master recommended, was to be found only in the habitual practice of justice and virtue; while he professed himself therefore an Epicurean, he lived like a Stoic; was moderate in pleasures, temperate in diet, and a water-drinker through life. He attached himself very early to the observance of Cicero; as all the young Nobles did, who had any thing great or laudable in view: this friendship was confirmed by a conformity of their sentiments in the civil war, and in Cæsar's reign; during which, several Letters passed between them, written with a freedom and familiarity, which is to be found only in the most intimate correspondence. In these letters, though Cicero rallies his Epicurism, and change of principles, yet he allows him to have acted always with the greatest honor and integrity; and pleasantly says, that he should begin to think that sect to have

more nerves, than he imagined, since Cassius had embraced it. The old writers assign several frivolous reasons of disgust, as the motives of his killing Cæsar : that Cæsar took a number of Lions from him, which he had provided for a public show ; that he would not give him the Consulship ; that he gave Brutus the more honorable Prætorship in preference to him. But we need not look farther for the true motive, than to his temper and principles : for his nature was singularly impetuous and violent ; impatient of contradiction, and much more of subjection ; and passionately fond of glory, virtue, liberty : it was from these qualities, that Cæsar apprehended his danger ; and when admonished to beware of Antony and Dolabella, used to say, that it was not the gay, the curled, and the jovial, whom he had cause to fear, but the thoughtful, the pale, and the lean ; meaning Brutus and Cassius¹⁷⁷.

The next in authority to Brutus and Cassius, though very different from them in character, were Decimus Brutus, and C. Trebonius : they had both been constantly devoted to Cæsar ; and were singularly favored, advanced, and intrusted by him in all his wars ; so that when Cæsar marched first into Spain, he left them to command the siege of Marseilles, Brutus by sea, Trebonius by land, in which they acquitted themselves with the greatest courage and ability, and reduced that strong place to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. Decimus was of the same family with his namesake, Marcus ; and Cæsar,

as if jealous of a name, that inspired an aversion to Kings, was particularly solicitous to gain them both to his interest; and seemed to have succeeded to his wish in Decimus; who forwardly embraced his friendship, and accepted all his favors; being named by him to the command of Cisalpine Gaul, and to the Consulship of the following year, and the second heir of his estate, in failure of the first. He seems to have had no peculiar character of virtue, or patriotism, nor any correspondence with Cicero, before the act of killing Cæsar; so that people, instead of expecting it from him, were surprised at his doing it: yet he was brave, generous, magnificent, and lived with great splendor, in the enjoyment of an immense fortune; for he kept a numerous band of Gladiators, at his own expense, for the diversion of the City; and after Cæsar's death, spent about four hundred thousand pounds of his own money in maintaining an army against Antony¹⁷⁸.

Trebonius had no family to boast of, but was wholly a new man, and the creature of Cæsar's power, who produced him through all the honors of the State, to his late consulship of three months: Antony calls him the Son of a Buffoon; but Cicero of a splendid Knight: he was a man of parts, prudence, integrity, humanity; was conversant also in the politer arts, and had a peculiar turn to wit and humor: for, after Cæsar's death, he published a volume of Cicero's sayings, which he had taken the pains to collect; upon which Cicero compliments him, for having

explained them with great elegance, and given them a fresh force and beauty, by his humorous manner of introducing them. As the Historians have not suggested any reason that should move either him or Decimus to the resolution of killing a man, to whom they were infinitely obliged; so we may reasonably impute it, as Cicero does, to a greatness of soul, and superior love of their country, which made them prefer the liberty of Rome to the friendship of any man; and chuse rather to be the destroyers, than the partners of a Tyranny¹⁷⁹.

The rest of the conspirators were partly young men, of noble blood, eager to revenge the ruin of their fortunes and families; partly men obscure, and unknown to the public¹⁸⁰; yet whose fidelity and courage had been approved by Brutus and Cassius. It was agreed by them all in council to execute their design in the Senate, which was summoned to meet on the Ides, or fifteenth of March: they knew that the Senate would applaud it when done, and even assist, if there was occasion, in the doing it¹⁸¹; and there was a circumstance, which peculiarly encouraged them, and seemed to be even ominous; that it happened to be Pompey's Senate-House, in which their attempt was to be made; and where Cæsar would consequently fall at the foot of Pompey's Statue, as a just sacrifice to the manes of that great man¹⁸². They took it also for granted, that the City would be generally on their side, yet for their greater security, D. Brutus gave orders, to arm

his Gladiators that morning, as if for some public show, that they might be ready, on the first notice, to secure the avenues of the Senate, and defend them from any sudden violence; and Pompey's Theatre, which adjoined to his Senate-house, being the properest place for the exercise of the Gladiators, would cover all suspicion, that might otherwise arise from them. The only deliberation that perplexed them, and on which they were much divided was whether they should not kill Antony also, and Lepidus, together with Cæsar; especially Antony, the more ambitious of the two; and the more likely to create fresh danger to the commonwealth. Cassius, with a majority of the company, was warmly for killing him: but the two Brutus as warmly opposed, and finally over-ruled it: they alledged, "that
" to shed more blood than was necessary, would
" disgrace their cause, and draw upon them an
" imputation of cruelty; and of acting not as
" Patriots, but as the Partisans of Pompey; not
" so much to free the City, as to revenge themselves on their enemies, and get the dominion
" of it into their hands." But what weighed with them the most, was a vain persuasion, that Antony would be tractable, and easily reconciled, as soon as the affair was over: but this lenity proved their ruin; and by leaving their work imperfect, defeated all the benefit of it; as we find Cicero afterwards often reproaching them in his Letters¹⁸³.

Many prodigies are mentioned by the Historians to have given warning of Cæsar's death¹⁸⁴;

which having been forged by some, and credulously received by others, were copied, as usual, by all, to strike the imagination of their readers, and raise an awful attention to an event, in which the Gods were supposed to be interested. Cicero has related one of the most remarkable of them; "that as Cæsar was sacrificing a little before his death, with great pomp and splendor, in his triumphal robes and golden chair, the victim, which was a fat Ox, was found to be without a heart: and when Cæsar seemed to be shocked at it, Spurinna, the Haruspex, admonished him to beware, lest through a failure in council, his life should be cut off, since the heart was the seat and source of them both. The next day he sacrificed again, in hopes to find the entrails more propitious; but the liver of the bullock appeared to want its head, which was reckoned also among the direful omens¹⁸." These facts, though ridiculed by Cicero, were publicly affirmed and believed at the time; and seem to have raised a general rumor through the City, of some secret danger that threatened Cæsar's life; so that his friends being alarmed at it, were endeavouring to instil the same apprehension into Cæsar himself; and had succeeded so far, as to shake his resolution of going that day to the Senate, when it was actually assembled by his summons in Pompey's Senate-house; till D. Brutus, by rallying those fears as unmanly and unworthy of him, and alledging, that his absence would be

interpreted as an affront to the assembly, drew him out against his will to meet his destined fate¹⁸⁶.

In the morning of the fatal day, M. Brutus and C. Cassius appeared, according to custom, in the Forum, sitting in their Prætorian Tribunals, to hear and determine causes; where, though they had daggers under their gowns, they sat with the same calmness as if they had nothing upon their minds; till the news of Cæsar's coming out to the Senate, called them away to the performance of their part in the tragical act; which they executed at last with such resolution, that through the eagerness of stabbing Cæsar, they wounded even one another¹⁸⁷.

Thus fell Cæsar on the celebrated Ides of March; after he had advanced himself to a height of power, which no Conqueror had ever attained before him; though to raise the mighty Fabric, he had made more desolation in the world than any man perhaps, who ever lived in it. He used to say, that his conquest in Gaul had cost about a million, and two hundred thousand lives¹⁸⁸; and if we add the civil wars to the account, they could not cost the Republic much less, in the more valuable blood of its best Citizens: yet when, through a perpetual course of faction, violence, rapine, slaughter, he had made his way at last to Empire, he did not enjoy the quiet possession of it above five months¹⁸⁹.

He was endowed with every great and noble quality, that could exalt human nature, and give

a man the ascendant in society: formed to excel in peace, as well as war, provident in counsel; fearless in action; and executing what he had resolved with an amazing celerity: generous beyond measure to his friends; placable to his enemies; and for parts, learning, eloquence, scarce inferior to any man. His orations were admired for two qualities which are seldom found together, strength and elegance: Cicero ranks him among the greatest orators, that Rome ever bred: and Quintilian says, that he spoke with the same force with which he fought; and if he had devoted himself to the bar, would have been the only man capable of rivalling Cicero. Nor was he a master only of the politer arts; but conversant also with the most abstruse and critical part of learning; and among other works which he published, addressed two books to Cicero, on the Analogy of language, or the art of speaking and writing correctly¹⁰⁰. He was a most liberal Patron of wit and learning, wheresoever they were found; and out of his love of those talents, would readily pardon those, who had employed them against himself: rightly judging, that by making such men his friends, he should draw praises from the same fountain, from which he had been aspersed. His capital passions were ambition and love of pleasure; which he indulged in their turns to the greatest excess: yet the first was always predominant; to which he could easily sacrifice all the charms of the second, and draw pleasure even from toils and dangers, when

they ministered to his glory. For he thought Tyranny, as Cicero says, the greatest of Goddesses; and had frequently in his mouth a verse of Euripides, which expressed the image of his soul, that if right and justice were ever to be violated, they were to be violated for the sake of reigning. This was the chief end and purpose of his life; the scheme that he had formed from his early youth; so that, as Cato truly declared of him, he came with sobriety and meditation to the subversion of the Republic. He used to say, that there were two things necessary, to acquire and to support power; soldiers and money; which yet depended mutually on each other: with money therefore he provided soldiers; and with soldiers he extorted money: and was of all men the most rapacious in plundering, both friends and foes; sparing neither Prince nor State, nor Temple, nor even private persons, who were known to possess any share of treasure. His great abilities would necessarily have made him one of the first Citizens of Rome; but disdaining the condition of a subject, he could never rest till he had made himself a Monarch. In acting this last part, his usual prudence seemed to fail him; as if the height to which he was mounted, had turned his head, and made him giddy: for, by a vain ostentation of his power, he destroyed the stability of it; and as men shorten life, by living too fast, so by an intemperance of reigning, he brought his reign to a violent end¹⁹¹.

It was a common question after his death, and

proposed as a problem by Livy, whether it was of service to the Republic, that he had ever been born¹⁹². The question did not turn on the simple merit of his acts, for that would bear no dispute, but on the accidental effects of them; their producing the settlement under Augustus, and the benefits of that government, which was the consequence of his Tyranny. Suetonius, who treats the characters of the Cæsars with that freedom, which the happy reigns, in which he lived, indulged, upon balancing the exact sum of his virtues and vices, declares him, on the whole, to have been justly killed¹⁹³: which appears to have been the general sense of the best, the wisest and the most disinterested in Rome, at the time when the fact was committed.

The only question which seemed to admit any dispute, was, whether it ought to have been committed by those, who were the leaders in it¹⁹⁴; some of whom owed their lives to Cæsar; and others had been loaded by him with honors, to a degree, that helped to increase the popular odium; particularly D. Brutus, who was the most cherished by him of them all, and left by his will, the second heir of his estate¹⁹⁵. For, of the Two Brutus, it was not Marcus, as it is commonly imagined, but Decimus, who was the favorite, and whose part in the conspiracy surprised people the most¹⁹⁶. But this circumstance served only for a different handle to the different parties, for aggravating either their crime, or their merit. Cæsar's friends charged them with base ingratitude, for

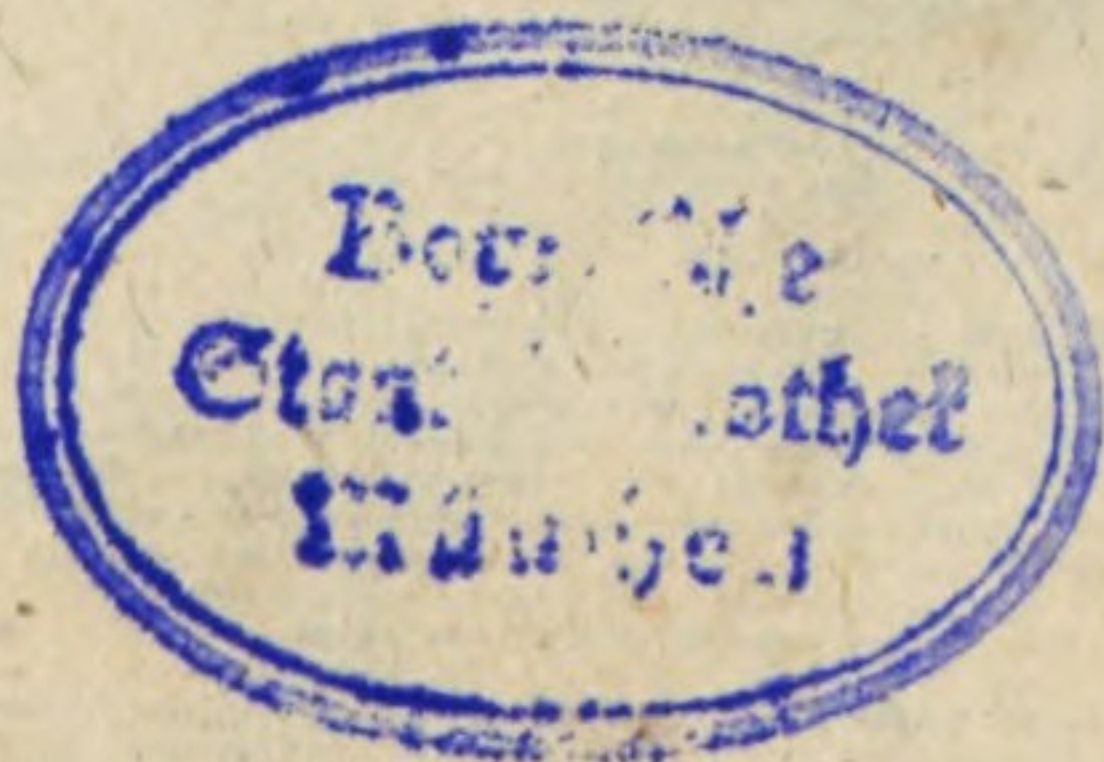
killing their Benefactor, and abusing the power which he had given to the destruction of the giver. The other side gave a contrary turn to it; extolled the greater virtue of the men, for not being diverted by private considerations, from doing an act of public benefit: Cicero takes it always in this view, and says, "That the Republic was the
" more indebted to them, for preferring the com-
" mon good, to the friendship of any man what-
" soever; that as to the kindness of giving them
" their lives, it was the kindness only of a Robber,
" who had first done them the greater wrong,
" by usurping the power to take it: that, if there
" had been any stain of ingratitude in the act,
" they could never have acquired so much glory
" by it; and though he wondered indeed at some
" of them for doing it, rather than ever imagined,
" that they would have done it; yet he admired
" them so much the more, for being regardless of
" favors, that they might show their regard to
" their Country¹⁹⁷."

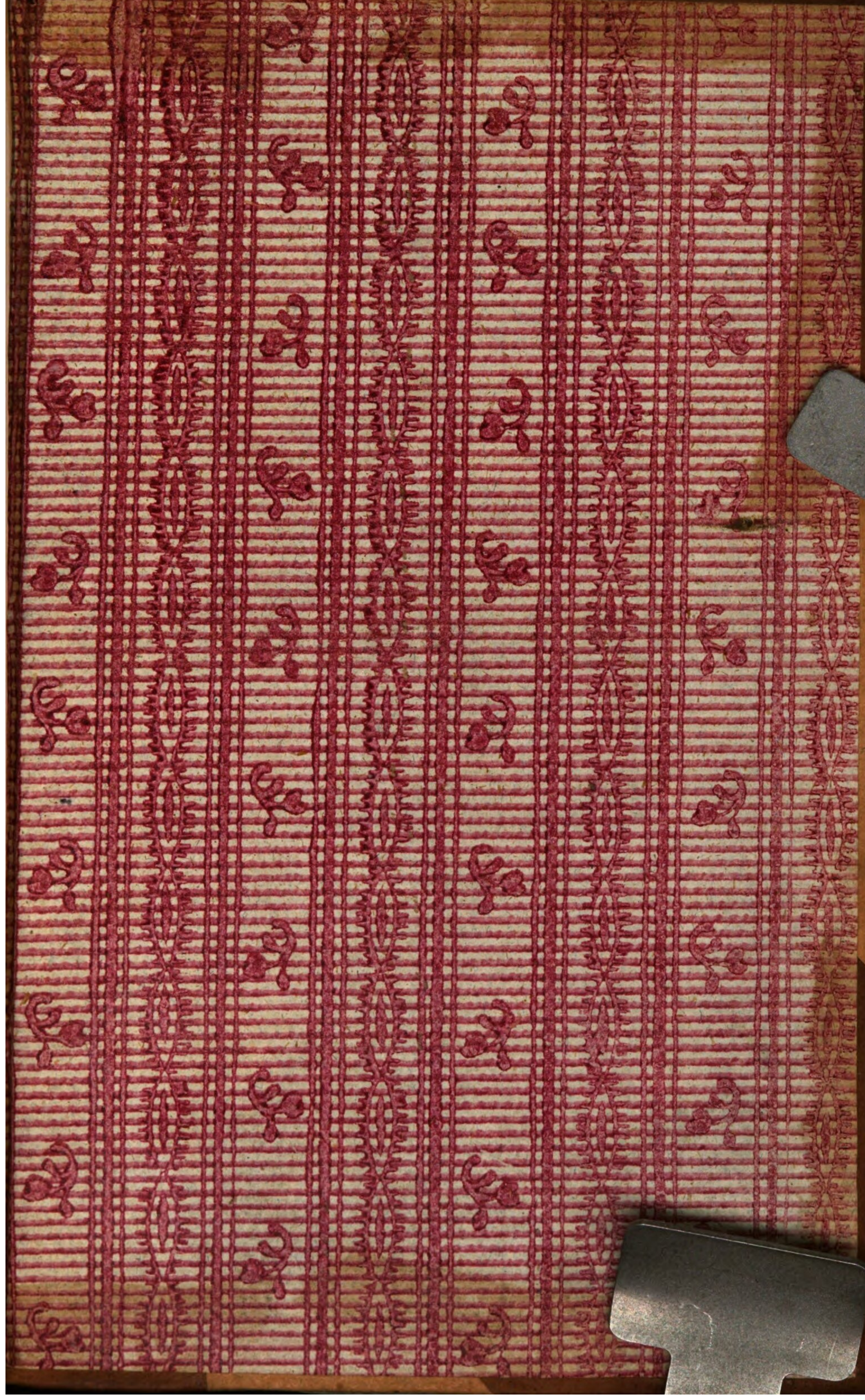
Some of Cæsar's friends, particularly Panfa and Hirtius, advised him always to keep a standing guard of Prætorian Troops, for the defence of his person; alledging, that a power acquired by arms must necessarily be maintained by arms: but his common answer was, that he had rather die once by treachery, than live always in fear of it¹⁹⁸. He used to laugh at Sylla for restoring the liberty of the Republic; and to say in contempt of him, that he did not know his letters¹⁹⁹. But, as a judicious writer has observed, Sylla had learnt a

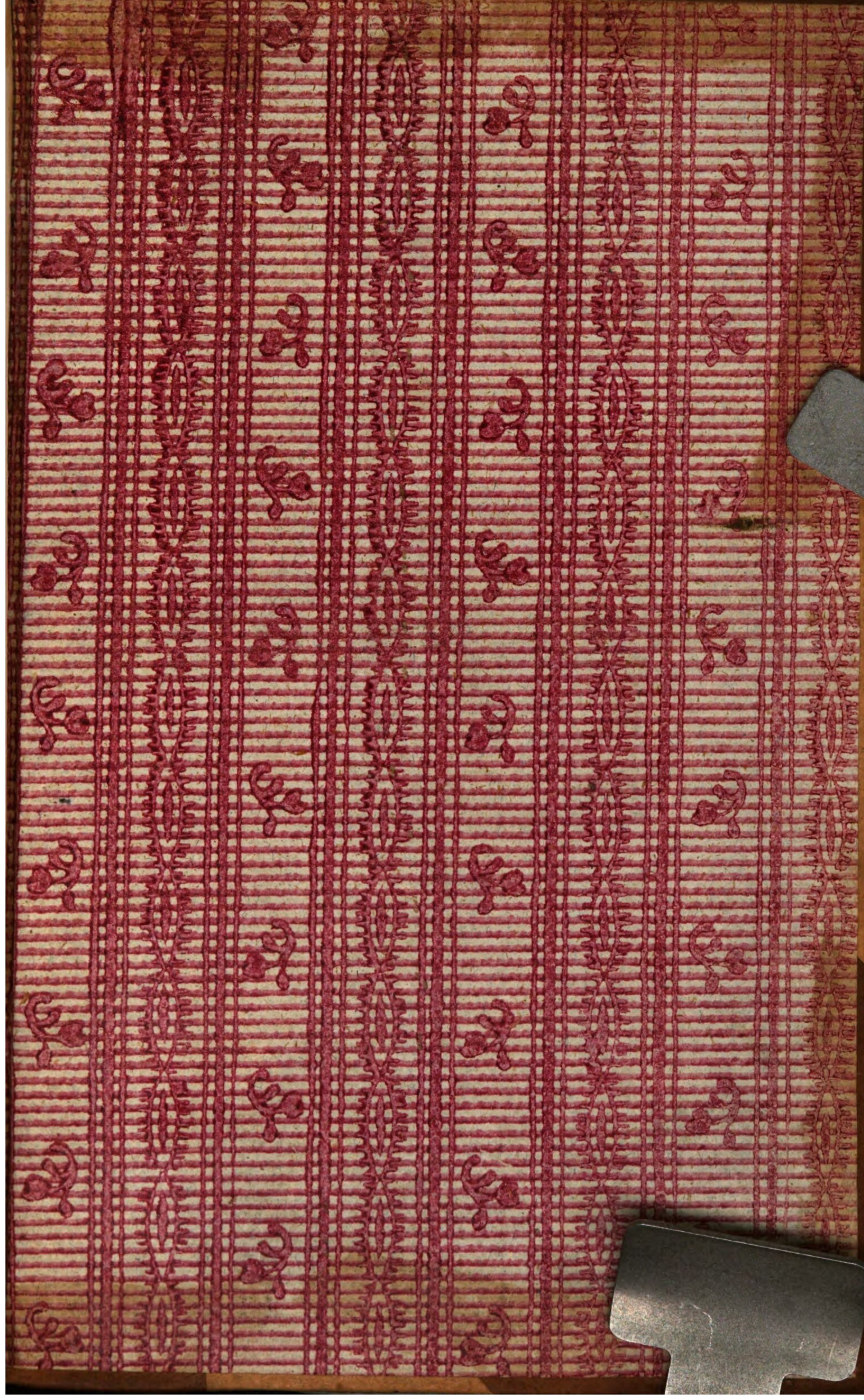
better Grammar than he ; which taught him to resign his guards and his government together : whereas Cæsar, by dismissing the one, yet retaining the other, committed a dangerous solecism in politics²⁰⁰ ; for he strengthened the popular odium, and consequently his own danger, while he weakened his defence.

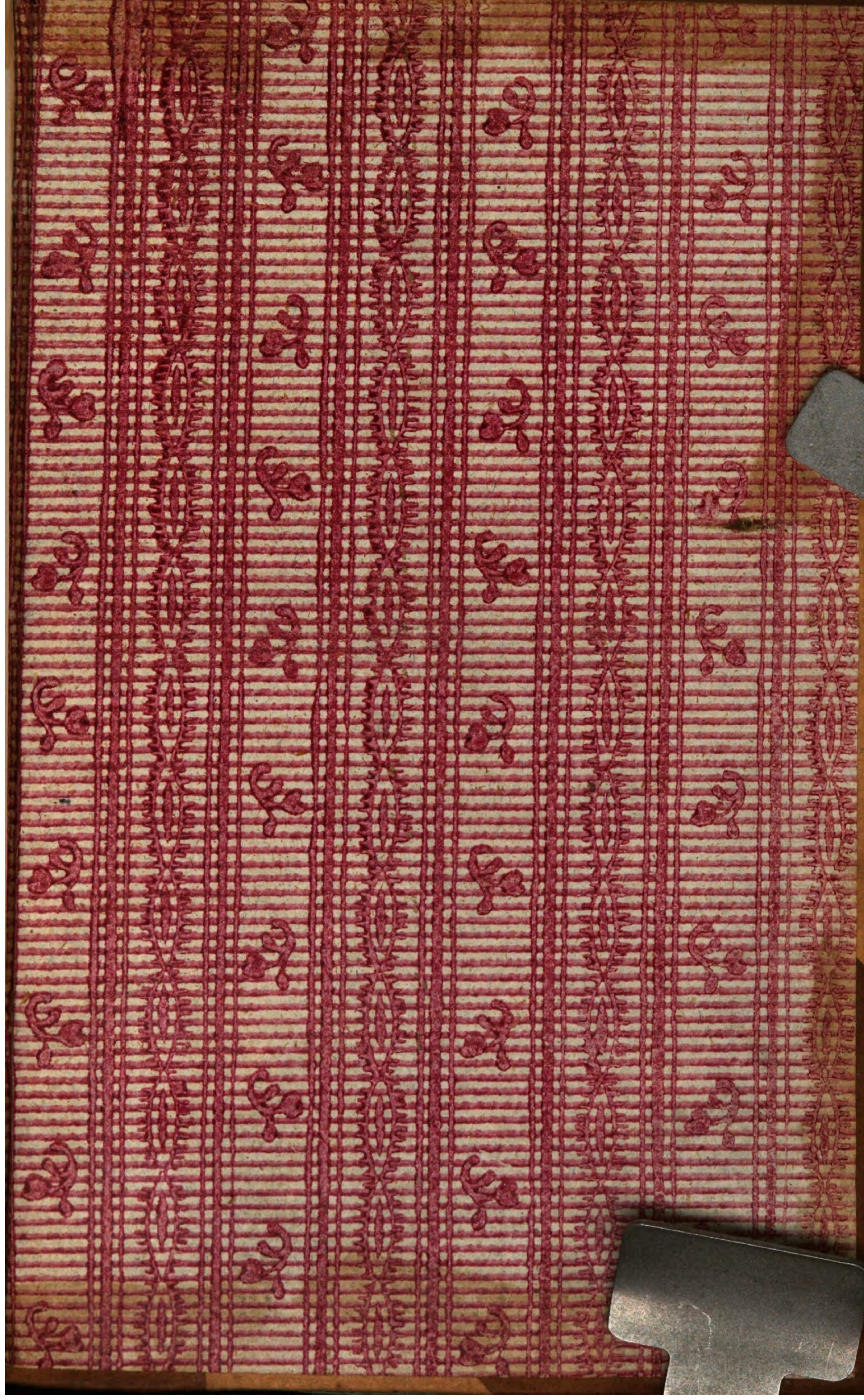
He made several good laws during his administration, all tending to enforce the public discipline, and extend the penalties of former laws. The most considerable, as well as the most useful of them was, that no Prætor should hold any Province more than one year, nor a Consul more than two²⁰¹. This was a regulation, that had been often wished for, as Cicero says, in the best of times ; and what one of the ablest Dictators of the old Republic had declared to be its chief security, not to suffer great and arbitrary commands to be of long duration ; but to limit them at least in time, if it was not convenient to limit them in power²⁰². Cæsar knew by experience, that the prolongation of these extraordinary commands, and the habit of ruling Kingdoms was the readiest way, not only to inspire a contempt of the laws, but to give a man the power to subvert them ; and he hoped therefore by this law, to prevent any other man from doing what he himself had done, and to secure his own possession from the attempts of all future invaders.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.









Middleton, Conyers, 1683-1750

The history of the life of M. Tullius Cicero

Bd.: 2

Basil (1790)

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